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Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak

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ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER AND THE OAK.

SOME months ago I ventured to criticise in these columns (xvi. 365 ff.) the second edition of Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*. My criticism was partly destructive and partly constructive. On the one hand I objected to certain inconsistencies and improbable assumptions, as they then seemed to me, in Dr. Frazer's treatment of the Arician problem: on the other, I argued that the *rex Nemorensis* at Aricia was strictly comparable with the *rex sacrorum* at Rome. Since writing that review I have, at Dr. Frazer's request, reconsidered the whole question, taking into account sundry fresh facts and inferences courteously placed by him at my disposal. I have further collected for myself and sifted much of the evidence available for a broader study of classical oak-cults. And I may say at once that this more thorough investigation has led me to abandon my negative criticism, except such parts of it as related to the aforesaid inconsistencies. It has also induced me to develop my positive contention in a direction that I certainly did not foresee, namely as an argument for, not against, Dr. Frazer's general view. Indeed I now find myself so far in agreement with Dr. Frazer that I should be doing him a gross injustice and occupying a very false position, if I withheld the resultant theory from readers of my former article. This is, moreover, a fitting time for the publication of such views; for, apart from Dr. Frazer and his great work, others have recently called attention to the significance of the oak in Aryan worship. Dr. P. Wagler in 1891 published an excellent monograph entitled *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit*, of which the first half appeared under the auspices of the Royal Gymnasium at Wurzen (Programm 541), the second as one of the *Berliner Studien* (xiii. pt. 2). Inspired by Wagler's example Prof. H. Osthoff among his *Etymologische Parerga* of 1901 included a long chapter (pp. 98-180) on 'Eiche und treue.' And in the same year came Dr. Schrader's invaluable *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde* containing several articles ('Eiche,' 'Tempel,' 'Religion,' etc.) that bear on this topic. To all of these authors I am indebted, as the sequel will show; but my debts are, I hope, fully acknowledged each in its place.

It is now universally admitted that Ζεύς, the Greek form corresponding to an Indo-European *dyēu-s, denoted the 'bright' god who shone forth from the clear sky or veiled his face in the storm-clouds: as the *Iliad* has it (15, 192)

Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὸν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσιν.

It is not so widely recognised that Zeus, though primarily a sky-god, discharged on occasion other and very different functions. Where local circumstances suggested it, Zeus was specialised into a water-god or an earth-god: thus there was a cult of Zeus Ὀμβριος on Hymettus and Parnes (Paus. 1. 32. 2), of Zeus Ὑέριος at Argos (Paus. 2. 19. 8), at Lebadea (Paus. 9. 39. 4), in Cos (Ditt.² 735. 3), on Tmolus (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 48), of Zeus Θαλάσσιος at Sidon (Hesych. s.v. θαλάσσιος Ζεύς); and a cult of Zeus Χθόνιος at Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 8), at Corinth (Paus. 2. 2. 8), in Myconus (Ditt.² 615. 25). At Corinth Zeus seems to have been worshipped under all three aspects: 'Of the images of Zeus,' says Pausanias (2. 2. 8. Frazer), 'which are also under the open sky, one has no surname; another is called Subterranean; and the third they name Highest.' Greek thinkers naturally arrived at the conclusion that one and the same Zeus was operant in sky and sea and land; e.g. Pausanias elsewhere (2. 24. 4. Frazer) writes—'All men agree that Zeus reigns in heaven, and there is a verse of Homer which gives the name of Zeus also to the god who is said to bear rule under the earth:—Both underground Zeus and august Proserpine (*Il.* 9. 457). Further, Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, applies the name of Zeus also to the god who dwells in the sea. So the artist, whoever he was, represented Zeus with three eyes, because it is one and the same Zeus who reigns in all the three realms of nature, as they are called.' Similarly Proclus (in Plat. *Crat.* p. 88 Boiss.) says of the three sons of Cronus: ὁ μὲν πρῶτος . . . καλεῖται μοναδικῶς Ζεύς· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος δυαδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος τριαδικῶς Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος καὶ Πλούτων καὶ Ἄϊδης, and the *Etym. mag.* 409, 5 ff. extends the name Ζεὺς to cover both τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, ὡς τὸ Ζεὺς δὲ κατὰ πόντον ἐτάραξεν and τὸν καταχθόνιον θεόν, ὡς τὸ Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος. But was this identification of Zeus with Poseidon and Hades

merely a piece of latter-day rationalism, or did it—as the cult-names noted above seem to indicate—go back to a genuine primitive belief? The earliest literary evidence at first seems adverse to such a claim; for the three divinities in question have already their distinctive names: I refer to *Il.* 15. 187 ff., where Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades,

the three sons of Cronus and Rhea, divide the world between them. But on closer inspection it appears that the names of Poseidon and Hades are simply by-forms of Ζεύς. This *saute aux yeux* as soon as we write the names, with their dialect varieties, side by side:

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| Ζεύς (Δεύς, Δίς, Δάν, acc. Δᾶν, etc.) | = the 'bright' sky-god. |
| Ποσει-Δάων (-Δης, -Δᾶς, -Δάν, -Δέων, -Δῶν, etc.) | = Zeus in the water (πότος). |
| ἄϊ-Δης (-Δας, -Δωνεύς) | = Zeus of the earth (αἶα). |

It was H. L. Ahrens who first pointed out (*Philologus* xxiii. 1 ff., 193 ff.) that Ποσειδῶν means the Water-Zeus. But his view did not find general acceptance, partly because his explanation of the length of the second syllable (Ποριδάν for Πορι-διάν) was unsatisfactory, and partly because 'drink' seemed an unlikely word to be used of a sea-god. But the first objection vanishes, if with Sonne (*Zeitschr. f. vgl. Spr.* x. 183) we regard the Ποσει of Ποσειδῶν as a locative case. Only we must derive the word from πότος, not πόσις. As οἶκος has the locatives οἶκει, οἶκοι, so from πότος, 'drink', might be made the locatives πότει, πότοι. The former of these appears in Ποτειδάν, Ποσειδῶν, etc.; the latter in such forms as Ποσοιδάν (σ for τ is due to the analogy of Ποσει- for Ποτει-). Thus the name denotes literally 'Zeus in the drink'. The second objection can be disposed of by the not improbable supposition that Poseidon was a god of rivers (ποταμοί) and drinking-water in general (πότος) before he became a sea-god: Mr. Marindin, for example, writes (*Class. Dict.* p. 751)—'Poseidon seems to have been worshipped originally by the oldest branches of the Ionic race in especial. It is possible that when they were an inland people mainly, he was the god of running streams and wells, and that as they occupied more and more sea-coast towns his worship took particularly the form, which eventually everywhere prevailed, appropriate to the god of the sea. In Thessaly, a well-watered country, without many sea-ports, his character was rather that of a god of rivers. Etc.' It is, then, permissible to suppose that, when rain fell, the primitive Greeks believed Zeus to be present in the rain; that, when the rain collected into streams and rivers, they still held Zeus to be in the drinking-water; and that, when the rivers ran into the sea, they looked upon the sea itself as permeated with Zeus. The conception of Zeus in the rain is attested not only by the titles Ζεύς*Ομβριος,

Ζεύς*Υέτιος, and the phrase Ζεύς ὕει, but by the remarkable term ζήνιον or ζήνιον ὕδωρ used for 'rain-water' in the magical papyri (Wessely *Gr. Zauberpap.* pap. Paris. 225 ἐὰν μὲν τοὺς ἐπουρανίους θεοὺς κλήξῃ ζήνιον sc. βάλε ὕδωρ, Wessely *neue Gr. Zauberpap.* 630 ζηνίον ὕδατος).¹ The transition from sky-god to river-god is best illustrated by the Homeric Διυπετέος ποταμοῖο, an expression rightly interpreted by schol. A οἱ γὰρ ὄμβροι ἀπὸ Διὸς and Eustath. 1505, 58 ὅγλον γὰρ ὡς τὸ ἐκπίπτον ὕδωρ ἐκ Διὸς ὃ ἐστὶν ἀέρος ποιεῖ Διυπετῇ ποταμόν (cp. *eund.* 1053, 8); for the Zeus Πότευς or Ποτῆος of Pamphylia and Phrygia (Collignon in *Bull. corr. hell.* iii. 335, Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* i. 223, Head *hist. num.* 562) seems to have been Dionysiac. Lastly, the fusion of sky-god with sea-god appears in the titles already quoted—Ζεύς ἐνάλιος, Ζεύς Θαλάσσιος—and in sundry cult-practices: at Olympia Zeus and Poseidon both bore the title Λαοίτας and were worshipped at a common altar (Paus. 5. 24. 1, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5. 8); the connecting link is perhaps supplied by the Carian Ζηνο-Ποσειδῶν (Macho *ap. Athen.* 337 c, *C.I.G.* 2700 add., Roscher *Lex. s.v.* 'Oso-goa'), whose temple stood by a river (Theophrast. *ap. Athen.* 42 A).

Confirmation² of Ποσειδῶν = Zeus in the water (πότος) may be found in the title Ἐννοσιδᾶς given to that divinity by Pindar (*Pyth.* 4. 33, 173). This should, I think, be divided ἐν-νοσι-Δας, i.e. Zeus in the water (νοτίς, ἔννοτος, ἐννότιος). According to Kühner-Blass i. 150, 'Das ursprüngliche τ . . . erweichten die Lesbier, die Arkadier und

¹ Dr. Frazer reminds me of the explicit statement in Verg. *georg.* 2. 325 ff. tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether | coniugis in gremium laetae descendit, et omnis | magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fetus. Jupiter Pluvialis (*C.I.L.* ix. 324) and Jupiter imbricator (Apol. *de mundo* 37) are strictly parallel to Ζεύς*Ομβριος and Ζεύς*Υέτιος.

² It is also worthy of mention that among the Aetolians, Lesbians, and Perrhaebians the month Ποσειδῶν was called Δίος (Bisschoff *de fastis Graecorum antiquioribus*).

Kyprier, die alten und neuen Ionier und die Attiker, insbesondere vor ι , in σ .' The short ι is perhaps due to later confusion with the patronymic $-\dot{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$: cp. the Ionic Ποσειδῆς (Herodian π. μον. λεξ. 10, 35 with Ahrens *Philol.* xxiii. 7). Further, since rivers spring from the soil and sometimes disappear into the soil, water as such acquired a chthonian character: hence ποσειδῶν was the god of earthquakes (Pr.ller-Robert⁴ p. 583 ff.), and ἐννοσίγαιος¹ may be fairly explained as *the earth-god in the water*. These compounds of ἐννοσί- are commonly held to contain a verbal element: but that is not so likely, because a verbal element would rather have followed than preceded the substantive, e.g. γαίηοχος. The form of the compound here resembles that of ἐμπυρβήτης. Note that Pollux l. 238, after enumerating ὄμβροι, ποταμοί, κρήναι, κ.τ.λ., goes on to mention γῆ... νότιος, ἐννότιος, a highly suggestive combination.

That 'Αἰδῆς similarly denoted the Earth-Zeus has not, I think, been hitherto maintained, though I suspect that this explanation had occurred to Ahrens; for at the close of his second article on the name Ποσειδῶν he writes (*Philologus* xxiii. 211)—'Diese deutung wird noch eine sehr kräftige bestätigung erhalten, wenn es mir gelingen sollte den namen des dritten Zeus 'Αἰδῆς in ganz analoger weise zu deuten.' The task that Ahrens left unaccomplished G. F. Unger took up and, to my thinking, spoiled. For in *Philologus* xxiv. 385 ff. he argued that 'Αἰδῆς is the patronymic form of αἶα, the second element in the word being a mere suffix. The derivation has not found favour with philologists mainly on two grounds: (a) there is no proof that αἶα was ever trisyllabic; Unger's suggestion *loc. cit.* p. 387, n. 2 that it stands to αἶω as *terra* to *torreo* being certainly wrong: (b) Hoffmann iii. 318 f. has shown that the genuine Ionic, and therefore Pelasgian, form of the name was trisyllabic and had a long initial α ('²Αἰδῆς mit langen α war die echt-ionische Form'); this is a fact to be reckoned with. Both objections can be overcome, if we put the case thus: *αι-ἰ-δῆς, *Zeus of the earth* (αἶα), normally passes into ἄ-ἰ-δῆς, a trisyllabic form with initial α lengthened to compensate for the loss of ι . That the connective vowel is ι , rather than α or \omicron , may be due to the analogy of Κρονίδης, etc.²

¹ Ἐννοσίχθων is perhaps a later form due, like εἰννοσίφυλλος, to a misconception.

² Such forms as θαλασσο-ἰ-γονος, μυστ-ἰ-πολος, are late and 'missbräuchlich' (Kühner-Blass ii. 328).

My reason for thinking that the termination of 'Αἰδῆς is not the suffix $-\dot{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ but the substantive $-\Delta\eta\varsigma$ is as follows: we thus obtain for the first time a satisfactory account of the form 'Αἰδωνεύς, in which $-\Delta\omega\eta\varsigma$ gives the name of the god (cp. Δάν, ποτιΔάν), while $-\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ follows the analogy of Ζεύς. But it would be beside my purpose and beyond my power to trace in detail the Protean changes undergone by the name Ζεύς in the many dialects of Greece. Suffice it to say that known varieties of the name allow of the equations proposed above; and that there is no phonetic difficulty in taking 'Αἰδῆς to denote an Earth-Zeus, precisely as Ποσειδῶν denoted a Water-Zeus. But, if Hades is none other than Ζεύς Χθόνιος or καταχθόνιος (reff. in Rhode *Psyche*² i. 205 ff.), we have yet to ask how the 'bright' sky-god came to be regarded as dwelling in the dark earth. Here, from the nature of the case, our answer must be more or less speculative. It may be granted that, if the sun was held to be in any sense the especial manifestation of the 'bright' god, his nightly setting might give rise to the belief that his home was under the earth; cp. e.g. *Od.* 10. 191 ἥελιος φασγίμβροτος εἶσ' ὑπὸ γαίαν, *h. Herm.* 68 ἥελιος μὲν ἔδνευ κατὰ χθονὸς Ὀκεανόνδε. I incline to think that this is the right explanation; for the sun is described, not only as Διὸς ὀφθαλμός (Hes. *O.D.* 267) or Ζηνὸς ὄρνις (Aesch. *suppl.* 213), but actually as Ζεύς... καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἴκετ' αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς ἀνγὰς=*Il.* 13. 837, and a very early inscription from Amorgos (Röhl² 55 no. 28, Roberts i. 191 no. 160 f.) mentions Ζεύς Ἥλιος. The gates through which he passed at sunset, the Ἡελίοιο πύλαι of *Od.* 24. 12, are probably to be identified with the πύλαι 'Αἰδαο of *Il.* 5. 646 *alib.* Pindar's epithet for Hades, χρυσήνιος (*ap.* Paus. 9. 23. 4), if not the Homeric κλυτόπωλος (*Il.* 5. 654 *alib.*), may be explained as allusions to the sun's chariot;³ and it is noteworthy that on vase-paintings of Hades' palace in the Underworld the walls are often decorated with wheels (Preller-Robert⁴ p. 805 n. 1). But, whatever answer we return to the question—How came Zeus to be regarded as an Earth-Zeus?—, the fact itself can hardly be disputed.

For yet another suggestion I am indebted to Ahrens (*Philologus* xxiii. 207), viz. that in Δα-μάτηρ, Δη-μήτηρ, we have a feminine form of the same stem. This enables us to understand why Demeter should have been

³ Proclus *h. in Sol.* 1 actually addresses the sun as χρυσήνιε Τιδάν.

paired sometimes with Zeus—e.g. Ζεύς Ὀμολώιος and Δημήτηρ Ὀμολοία at Thebes (Suid. s.v. Ὀμολώιος Ζεύς)—, sometimes with Poseidon—e.g. at Onceum (Paus. 8. 25. 5 ff.), at Thelpusa and Phigalia (Paus. 8. 42. 1), at Troezen (Paus. 2. 32. 8), at Eleusis (Paus. 1. 38. 6), in Myconus (Ditt.² 615)—, sometimes with Hades—e.g. near the Acheron in Elis (Demetrius of Scepsis *ap.* Strab. 344) and not far from Pylos (Strab. 344).

Maximilian Mayer has gone far towards proving that the name Ζεύς sometimes developed a prothetic *ā*—. He plausibly compares the forms Ἀζεύς, Ἀζάν, with Ζεύς, Ζάν (*Giganten und Titanen* pp. 84, 154). Azeus, the youngest son of Clymenus, was a local hero at Orchomenus in Boeotia, where his eldest brother Erginus was reputed to be the father of Trophonius (Paus. 9. 37). Now Τροφώνιος was a by-name of Zeus at Lebadea (Frazer *Paus.* v. 200): Κλύμενος was killed by Perieres at Onchestus in the precinct of Poseidon (Apollodor. 2. 4. 11): and Κλύμενος was also a well-known title of Hades, e.g. at Hermione, where the temple of Demeter was founded by Clymenus and Chthonia (Paus. 2. 35. 4: see Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1228, 43 ff.). If Azeus was in reality the Orchomenian Zeus, this association with Zeus, Poseidon, Hades, and Demeter becomes intelligible.¹ Azan, the eponymous head of the Azanes (Hdt. 6. 127, *alib.*), was similarly an Arcadian form of Zeus (schol. Stat. *Theb.* 4. 292 unde vulgo in sacris Deae magnae dicitur *Azan*, on which see Mayer *op. cit.* p. 154, n. 225). Other cognates are the Attic deme Ἀζηνιεύς (Töpffer *Att. Genealogie* p. 102 f.) and Ἀζησία, a title borne by Demeter (Soph. *frag.* 809 Dind., Hesych. s.v.) and by Kore at Troezen² (Suid. s.v., *alib.*), where the saying ἡ Ἀμαία τὴν Ἀζησίαν μετέλθεν may have meant: 'The Mother (ἁ-Μαῖα) sought the Zeus-maiden (ἁ-Ζησία).' In N. Greece the prothetic *a*- was apparently prefixed to forms of Ζεύς beginning with a Δ. For Hesychius' gloss ἀδῆ· οὐρανός. Μακεδόνες can hardly be dissociated from Ζεύς as the sky-god. This, if I am not mistaken, points the way to the meaning of the name Ἄδων, Ἄδωνις. Dümmler, after a careful discussion of the Adonis-cult, comes to the conclusion that the common derivation of Ἄδωνις from the Hebrew *Adon*, 'Lord,' is wrong, and

that we must assume a Greek rather than a Semitic origin for the name (Pauly-Wissowa i. 393, 39 ff.). What that origin was, he does not attempt to determine; but in view of ἀδῆ· οὐρανός it is not hard to conjecture. If Adonis was related to Zeus = Poseidon = Hades, we obtain an explanation for the three-fold character of the Adonia, at which the god was represented (1) as ascending to the upper air, (2) as committed to the waves of the sea, (3) as descending to the world below (details and reff. in *G.B.*² ii. 115 ff.). Possibly Philostephanus was not far wrong, when he described Adonis as the son of Zeus and Zeus alone (Prob. in Verg. *ecl.* 10. 18).

Mayer's further conjecture (*Giganten und Titanen* p. 81) that Τῖτάν is a reduplicated form of *Τάν (cp. Σίονφος, κύκνος, πῖφαύσκω), another variety of Ζεύς (Cretan Τανός, Τάν, Τάνα, etc.—see Herwerden *Lex. suppl.* s.v. Ζεύς, Boisacq *Les dialectes Dorien* p. 152 f.), is in itself not impossible and is supported by a wealth of ingenious argumentation. If true, it throws—as we shall see—some light on the mythology of various Titans.

But the group of related deities is not, even so, exhausted. Corresponding to the male series sky-god, water-god, earth-god, was a whole female series sky-goddess, water-goddess, earth-goddess, who derived their names more immediately from the Indo-European root *div*-, 'bright,' a root ultimately common to both series:

Δία = sky-goddess.

ἄφρο-Δίτη = water-goddess.

Διώνη = earth-goddess.

Between the divinities denoted by these names there was a certain potential equivalence or actual interchange, which tends to confirm my theory that they are at bottom only diverse manifestations of a single conception—the 'bright' wife of the 'bright' sky-god Zeus. Thus Dia, when identified with Hebe as at Phlius and Sicyon (Strab. 382) or when united with Zeus as the parent of Peirithous (*Il.* 14. 317 f., Pherecyd. *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 62. schol. *Od.* 11. 631 ὁ δὲ Δίας καὶ Διός), was presumably conceived as a sky-goddess. But, when identified with Eurytia or Eidothea as the second wife of Phineus (J. De Witte in *Arch. Zeit.* xxxix. 164, n. 1), she was a water-goddess (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1218). And, when the Samothracian Caelus and Terra (Pauly-Wissowa iii. 1277, 38 ff.) are replaced by Caelus and Dia (Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 23) or when *dia* is cited as meaning γῆ (*Etym. mag.* 60, 8 οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δᾶν λέγουσι καὶ δῖαν), we are bound to regard Dia as an

¹ *Il.* 2. 513 speaks of Ἀκτορος Ἀεΐδαο. Does Ἀκτωρ the son of Ζεύς afford any clue to the difficult epithet Δι-Ἀκτορος?

² Possibly the same root recurs in the name of the town itself, Τροι-ζήν, Τροι-ζήνη.

earth-goddess: cp. the Dea Dia of the Romans. Again, Aphrodite, though commonly a water-goddess (Εἰρηλοια, Λιμενία, Πορτία, etc.) was also a sky-goddess (Οὐρανία) and an earth-goddess (Ἐπιτυμβιδία, Τυμβόρυχος): she thus made a fitting consort for Adonis, with whom her connexion was constant and apparently original (Dümmler in Pauly-Wissowa i. 393, 50 ff.). Finally Dione, who at Dodona was an earth-goddess (see below), was sometimes identified with her daughter the Cyprian Aphrodite (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1028, 46 ff.) or described as the child of Oceanus and Tethys (Hes. *theog.* 353), i.e. as a water-goddess, while others equated her with Hera presumably as a sky-goddess (schol. *Od.* 3. 91 ὥς καὶ ἡ Ἥρα Διώνη παρὰ Δωδωναίοις, ὥς Ἀπολλόδορος: where Διώνη is Buttmann's cj. for διώνη M. διαίνη H.Q.). These variations show how readily sky-goddess, sea-goddess, and earth-goddess might pass from one province into another. Surely the riddle τί ταῦτόν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ; (Athen. 453 A) admitted of a serious theological answer.

Thus far, then, we have seen that various Greek deities are etymologically connected with Zeus. I propose to show next that in the case of every such deity, traces of the oak-cult can be detected.

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμεσθα. The Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona uttered his oracles by means of a sacred oak (*Il.* 16. 233 ff., *Od.* 14. 327 f., 19. 296 f.) growing in a sacred forest of oak (Aesch. *P.v.* 832, Serv. *georg.* 1. 149 and *Aen.* 3. 466, schol. Lucan. *Phars.* 3. 179). This, the most famous oak-cult of antiquity, has already a literature of its own (bibliography in P. Wagler *die Eiche* ii. 5, Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 353, etc.) and I do not mean to discuss it in detail. At the same time it will be well to insist on certain aspects of the cult which have not hitherto received the attention that they deserve. I shall have something to say on the subject (1) of Zeus himself, (2) of Dione his consort, (3, 4) of their attendant priests and priestesses.

(1) At Dodona the conception of Zeus as a sky-god is barely traceable. For if Ζεὺς Νάϊος be interpreted as 'Zeus of the streaming water' (schol. *Il.* 16. 233 ὁ δὲ Δωδωναῖος καὶ νάϊος ὑδρηλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία), the reference is not to the drenching thunderstorms of the district, but to the numerous streams that furrow the side of

Mt. Tomarus (Plin. *n.h.* 4. praef. 2 Tomarus mons centum fontibus circa radices Theopompo celebratus) or more probably to the ὕδωρ ἀναπανόμενον (Plin. *n.h.* 2. 228), as is evident when the epithet is compared with its supposed cognates Νάϊα (a spring in Laconia, Paus. 3. 25. 4), Ναιάς, νάω, νάμα, etc.: these all refer to running or standing water, not to a down-pour from above. But it is not quite certain that Νάϊος refers to water at all. In ancient times rival derivations were current: (a) from ναῦς, 'the god of ships' (Bekk. *anecd.* 283, 22); (b) from ναός, 'the god of the temple' (Bekk. *anecd.* 283, 13); (c) from ναῖω, 'the god who dwells' in the oak (cp. φηγωναῖε the reading of Zenodotus in *Il.* 16. 233 with Hes. *frag.* 80, 7 Flach ναῖον δ' ἐν πυθμένι φηγοῦ). Of modern derivations the most persuasive is that of Schrader (*Reallex.* s.v. 'Tempel,' p. 861) who, holding that the words ναῦς and ναός are descended from a common parent denoting 'tree,' interprets Ζεὺς Νάϊος as 'der im Baumstamme gefasste.' But, however that may be, the title Νάϊος furnishes no direct proof of the celestial character of Zeus. It is indeed strange that such proof is not forthcoming at Dodona, perhaps the stormiest spot in Europe (with *Il.* 16. 234 Δωδώνης...δυσχειμέρον cp. A. Mommsen *Delphika* p. 5 'Im Juni 1868 hat es bei Janina an 23 Tagen gedonnert und geblitzt' quoted by Wagler *die Eiche* ii. 2). Possibly a reminiscence of the bright sky-god is to be found in the Hesychian gloss Δωδωνεύς Ζεὺς. ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Δῖος, and of the rain-storms in the Dodonaean nymphs whom Pherecydes identified with the Ὑάδες (schol. *Il.* 18. 486). These latter were regarded by Pherecydes as the nurses of Dionysus (*ib.* τὰς Ὑάδας Δωδωνίδας νύμφας φησὶν εἶναι καὶ Διονύσου τροφούς, ἃς παρακατέσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον Ἰνοῖ διὰ τὸν Ἥρας φόβον), but by others as the nurses of Zeus himself (Hyg. 182 Iovis nutrices quae nymphae Dodonides dicuntur)—a point to which I must return. It should be added that certain bronze fragments found at Dodona probably belonged to a statue of Zeus hurling the thunderbolt (Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* i. 104, ii. pl. lx, 11), that a bronze statuette of the god in that attitude was discovered whole (*ib.* i. 32, ii. pl. xii. 4), and that the thunderbolt occurs as a decorative relief on pieces of bronze armour from the same site (*ib.* i. 101, 103, ii. pll. lv. 3, lix, 1, 2). The well-known Vienna bronze, which shows Zeus with a crown of oak-leaves and

of acorns and a winged thunderbolt (Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 2132 fig. 2389 cp. the cameo in Overbeck *Gemmentaf.* iii. 2), perhaps points in the same direction. Still, it must be admitted that the conception of Zeus as a sky-god, if present at all, was very much in the background at Dodona.

His connexion with water was more *en évidence*. An oracular spring burst from the very roots of the famous oak (Serv. *Aen.* 3. 466). This was probably the ἀναπνόμενον ὕδωρ, an intermittent spring, which ceased to flow at midday (Plin. *n.h.* 2. 228, cp. *Etym. mag.* 98, 22). A river in the same locality was called Δῶδων (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη, Eustath. 335, 45). The oracle at Dodona enjoined sacrifice to Achelōus in all its responses (schol. *Il.* 21. 194 καὶ τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ δὲ μαντεῖον ἅπασιν τοῖς χρησμοῖς κελεύει θύειν Ἀχελῷω, schol. *Il.* 24. 615, Ephor. *frag.* 27 Müller *ap.* Macrobian. 5. 18). Mythology too connected the Dodonaean Zeus with ships, both stern and prow: on the one hand, Πέρμος γὰρ ὁ Ἰκάστου¹ τοῦ Αἰόλου ναυαγῆσας διεσώθη ἐπὶ τῆς πρύμνης καὶ ἰδρύσατο ἐν Δωδώνῃ Διὸς Ναίου ἱερὸν (Bekk *anecd.* 283. 22); on the other, Argos Ἀθηναῖς ὑποθεμένης πεντηκόντορον ναῦν κατεσκεύασε τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Ἀργῶ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πῶραν ἐνῆρμοσεν Ἀθηναῖα φωνῇεν φηγοῦ τῆς Δωδωνίδος ξύλον (Apollodor. 1. 9. 16). Probably special virtues were ascribed to ship timber, δόρυ νήιον, of Dodonaean oak: cp. Plin. *n.h.* 13. 119 Alexander Cornelius arborem leonem (so MD: eonem *rv*) appellavit ex qua facta esset Argo, similem robori viscum ferenti, quae neque aqua neque igni possit corrumpi, sicuti nec viscum, nulli alii cognitam, quod equidem sciam. Again, the nymph Δωδώνη was an Oceanid (Eustath. 335, 46. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη, *alib.*), as was Dione according to some (Hes. *theog.* 353, cp. Apollodor. 1. 2. 7). And there was the legend that the oracle had been founded or consulted by Deucalion and Pyrrha after the flood (Plut. *v. Pyrrh.* 1, *Etym. mag.* 293, 5 ff.). All this is suggestive of a Water-Zeus or Poseidon: cp. the beautiful bronze statuette of Zeus in the attitude of Poseidon found at Dodona and now in the British Museum (*Cat. Bronzes* 274, pl. vi. 2) and a similar statue from the same place, now at Constantinople *Bull. de corr. hell.* ix. 42, pl. xiv.

But, after all, the really prominent feature of the Zeus-cult at Dodona was its oracle. And the giving of oracles was a chthonian prerogative. An oracular Zeus (Farnell

Cults i. 39 f.) may indeed always be taken to imply a chthonian Zeus (Rhode *Psyche*,² i. 207). Hence Creuzer was substantially correct when he wrote (*Symbolik*³ iii. 85): ‘ganz auffallend zeigt sich in diesem Dodonäischen Dienste ein gewisser tellurischer Charakter. Dieser Juppiter war auch mit Aidoneus oder mit dem König der Unterwelt ein und derselbe.’ This ‘telluric character’ comes out with equal clearness in the consort of Zeus at Dodona.

(2) Pausanias 10. 12. 10. records the old chant of the Dodonaean priestesses—
Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἔστι, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται· ὦ μέγαλε Ζεῦ.
Γὰ καρποὺς ἀνίει, διὸ κλήζετε ματέρα Γαῖαν.
It would seem, then, that at Dodona there was the same primeval association between Sky-father and Earth-mother, which meets us elsewhere in a hundred different forms. The name Δωδώνη itself bears witness to the cult of the earth-goddess. A comparison of

| | |
|-----------------|----------|
| <i>Blandona</i> | Ἀμυδών |
| <i>Βωδώνη</i> | Ἀνθηδών |
| <i>Δωδώνη</i> | Ἀσπληδών |
| <i>Κελαδώνη</i> | Βωδών |
| | Καλυδών |
| | Φαρκαδών |
| | Χαλκηδών |

all names of places in N. Greece, seems to indicate that -δών was a suffix (cp. Celtic *-dūnum*, Old Irish *dūn*, ‘town’) and that the import of the name depended on its first element.² On this showing Δωδώνη means ‘the town of Δῶ.’ Now the Aeolic name for Demeter was Δω-μάτηρ, and Hoffmann ii. 374 f. argues that the N. Achaeans in general originally worshipped the goddess under that title. Bechtel (*Nachr. d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1890 p. 29) had already compared the clipped form Δῶς (MSS. Δῶς) in *h. Cer.* 122; and Meister i. 75 had brought into the same connexion the place-names Δωδώνη, Δώτιον. Thus the name Δωδώνη informs us that from time immemorial that had been a local cult of the earth-goddess, the goddess whom the dramatists called Δᾶ (Herwerden *lex. suppl. s.v.* δᾶ), better known as Δη-μήτηρ, a feminine form from the same root as Ζεὺς.

But if the consort of Zeus at Dodona was Demeter, what becomes of Dione who is regularly paired with him in literature and art (evidence in Roscher *lex.* i. 1028, 61 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 354, n. 1, etc.)? Strabo

¹ The names are usually corrected to Περίηρης and Ἰοκάστου.

² Kretschmer *Einleitung* p. 256 f. holds that the suffix of these place-names is rather -ών, -ονα. In that case the first element of Δωδώνη would be a reduplicated Δῶ, cp. Δωδῶ (Simmias Rhod. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη).

329 states that the worship of Dione was introduced at a later date than that of Zeus. His statement is often discredited (e.g. by Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 354, n. 1); but it may well be true. Δῶ, the old earth-goddess, was in time supplanted by Διώνη, both of them being feminine congeners of Ζεύς (Curtius *Grundzüge* 236, Meister *Sitzungsab. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1894 p. 200 ff.). An inkling of the truth appears in *Etym. mag.* 280, 41 ff. ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς Διώνης... ἣ αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῇ γῇ.

Oaks were associated with Demeter and perhaps with Dione also. The cave of the Phigaleian Demeter was surrounded by a grove of oaks (Paus. 8. 42. 12). On the road from Tegea to Argos the temple of Demeter ἐν Κορυθεύσι stood in another oak-grove (Paus. 8. 54. 5). The tree cut down in Demeter's grove by the sacrilegious Erysichthon was, according to Ovid, an 'ingens annoso robore quercus' (*met.* 8. 743), a 'Deoia quercus' (*ib.* 758): cp. Callim. *h. Cer.* 60 ἐνὶ δρυσί. Finally, Virgil connects the oak with Ceres: *georg.* 1. 347 ff. neque ante | falcem maturis quisquam supponat aristas, | quam Cereri torta redimitus tempora quercu | det motus inconpositos et carmina dicat. The evidence with regard to Dione is as follows. Nicander *ther.* 461 f. mentions Ζωναῖά τ' ὄρη χιόνεσσι φάληρα | καὶ δρύες Οἰαγρίδαο τό τε Ζηρύνθιον ἄντρον. The schol. *ad loc.* cites also Nicand. *frag.* 36 καὶ μὲν ὑπὸ Ζωναίων ὄρος δρύες ἀμφί τε φηγοὶ | ριζόθι δινήθησαν ἀνέστησάν τε χορείαν | οἶά τε παρθενικαί. It appears that in Thrace there was a town called Δρύς (Steph. Byz. s.v.), where Orpheus had made the oaks to dance, and that in its immediate neighbourhood was another town called Ζώνη (Scylax *peripl.* 67 Σαμοθράκη νήσος καὶ λιμήν. κατὰ ταύτην ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐμπόρια Δρύς, Ζώνη). Have we not in Δρύς—Ζώνη the Thracian counterpart of the Dodonaean δρύς—Διώνη?

It may be surmised that the famous gong at Dodona was connected with the goddess rather than with the god. For the nearest parallel to it on Greek soil was the gong sounded by the hierophant at Athens (i.e. at Eleusis) when Kore cried aloud (Apollodor. *ap. schol. vet. Theocr.* 2. 36): besides, Pindar speaks of Demeter herself as χαλκοκρότον... Δαμάτερος (*Isth.* 7. 3 f.); and her title 'Αχαία, 'the noisy,' is susceptible of the same explanation (*J.H.S.* xxii. 15).

(3) This brings us to a consideration of the priests at Dodona, whom Callimachus calls γηλεχέες θεράποντες ἀσιγήτοις λέβητος

(*h. Del.* 286). If Dione was an earth-goddess, we can understand why they were γηλεχέες. They lay on the ground to be in close contact with Mother Earth. The Homeric χαμαιεῖναι (*Il.* 16. 235) possibly echoes Χαμένη, a title borne by Demeter in Elis (Paus. 6. 20. 9, 6. 21. 1) and denoting the earth-goddess (Kretschmer *Einl.* 83). But they were ἀνιπτόποδες as well as χαμαιεῖναι. Does this taboo imply the same contact? Unlike other men they did not wash from their feet the dust and mud that to them were holy ground. A third of the Dodonaean rules may perhaps be recovered from a parody of them by the comedian Eubulus (*ap. Athen.* 113 E, cp. Eustath. 1058, 12), who spoke of the Cynics as ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιεννάδες, ἀερίοικοι. If so, the third rule may refer to Zeus as a sky-god: his priests remained *sub divo*. The epithets taken together would thus give the twofold aspect of the priesthood, in its relation on the one hand to Dione and on the other to Zeus.

The priests were called Ἴλλοί and traced their descent from an eponymous ancestor Ἴλλός. He was a woodcutter, to whom the dove had first shown the oracular seat (schol. *Il.* 16. 234 Πάδαρος Ἴλλοὶ χωρὶς τοῦ σ ἀπὸ Ἰλλοῦ τοῦ δρυτόμου, ᾧ φασι τὴν περιστερὰν πρώτην καταδείξειν τὸ μαντεῖον, cp. Serv. *Aen.* 3. 466 of the dove at Dodona 'praecepitque ei qui tum eam succidebat, ut ab sacrata quercu ferrum sacrilegum submoveret: ibi oraculum Iovis constitutum est,' etc.). Almost the only other substantial piece of information that we have with regard to the Ἴλλοί is that they were called τόμουροι, a name popularly connected with Mt. Τόμαρος or Τμάρος (Strab. 328). But it can hardly be a mere coincidence that the τόμουροι of a sacred oak-grove should claim descent from a δρυ-τόμος. I would submit that τόμουροι means 'cutters,' i.e. woodcutters, being a word derived from the root of τέμνω, cp. τόμος τομός τομεύς etc., with a termination like that of ἄρουρα or σταυρός. Mt. Τόμαρος or Τμάρος might well be the mountain where timber was 'felled' (cp. Orph. *Arg.* 1153 ff. ἐκ δ' ἄρα κοίλης | νηὸς ἐριβρομέονσα Τομαριὰς ἔκλαγε φηγὸς | ἦν ποθ' ὑπ' Ἀργῶσι τομαῖς ἡρόσσαστο Παλλὰς). It seems, then, that those who felled timber in the sacred wood of Dodona were a clan tracing their pedigree back to a common ancestor. A parallel to this state of affairs can be produced from another Pelasgian town, namely Athens. Hesychius has fortunately saved the gloss Αἰγειροτόμοι· ἰθαγενεῖς τινες Ἀθηναῖον. There was, as he

tells us, at Athens a family of 'poplar-cutters,' which prided itself on the purity of its blood. Probably in the far past they and they alone had been privileged to cut poplars: according to Callin. *h. Cer.* 24 ff. the wrath of Demeter fell upon Erysichthon because, though warned by her priestess, he cut down a poplar in her grove at Dotion. At Olympia too the wood of the white poplar, which alone was used for the sacrifices, was supplied by a servant of Zeus called the *ξύλεύς* (Paus. 5. 13. 2-3, 5. 15. 10). Again, at Phlius in the grove of Hebe, who was here identified with Dia (Strab. 382), a yearly festival was held called the *κισσοτόμοι* (Paus. 2. 13. 4). It is clear, therefore, that the felling of timber in a sacred grove might be regarded as a solemn religious function; and it may be plausibly maintained that the *τόμοι* of Dodona were the clan privileged to cut the sacred oaks.¹

Can we go further and form a conjecture as to the reasons for which they felled the trees? Doubtless it may have been for purely secular purposes, house-building or what not? But the sanctity of the oaks and the priestly character of the *τόμοι* tempt us to go further afield. Now the legend related by the scholiast on *Il.* 16. 234 spoke of Hellus the *δρυτόμος* as guided by a dove to the oracular seat. And this suggests comparison with the Little Daedala in Boeotia. At that festival the people of Plataea followed a raven till it settled on an oak, which they then cut down and treated as a bride of Zeus (reff. in *G.B.*² i. 225 f.). The common features are the wood-cutting and the bird alighting on the oak sacred to Zeus. A further point of resemblance is the prominence accorded to the river-god in both localities. Of the Achelōis as worshipped at Dodona I have already spoken. At Plataea during the Little Daedala the oak-bride 'seems . . . to have been drawn to the banks of the river Asopus and back to the town, attended by a piping and dancing crowd'; and once in sixty years, at the Great Daedala, the fourteen oak-brides kept from the lesser celebrations 'were dragged on wains in procession to the river Asopus, and then to the top of Mount Cithaeron,' where they were burnt (*G.B.*² *loc. cit.*). If Schrader was right in understanding *Νάϊος* to mean 'of the tree-trunk,' the name of the local festival at Dodona, the *Νάϊα* (Ditt.² 700) or *Nāa* (*C.I.G.* 2908), might afford a parallel to that of the *Δαίδαλα*, i.e. 'carved

trunks' (Paus. 9. 3. 2), at Plataea. The bride of Zeus at Dodona seems to have been originally a *ξυλον* of wood and to have been transformed into a chryselephantine statue by the Athenians; this supposition at least fits the language of Hyperides *pro Eux.* col. xxxv. 24 ff. *ὕμιν γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Δωδωναῖος προσέταξεν ἐν τῇ μαντείᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Διώνης ἐπικοσμήσαι· καὶ ὑμεῖς πρόσωπόν τε ποιησάμενοι ὡς οἶόν τε κάλλιστον καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ ἀκόλουθα, καὶ κόσμον πολλὴν καὶ πολυτελῆ τῇ θεῷ παρασκευάσαντες καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ θυσίαν πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποστείλαντες ἐπικοσμήσατε τὸ ἔδος τῆς Διώνης ἀξίως καὶ ὕμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς θεοῦ.* Among the débris in the sacred precinct at Dodona, Carapanos found 'deux yeux en pierre calcaire ayant appartenu à une grande statue en bois' (*op. cit.* i. 23, ii. pl. lx, 6); though it would be rash to assert that these came from a statue of Dione. If Zeus at Dodona like Zeus at Plataea had a wooden bride, it is possible that the Dodonaean had some periodical holocaust analogous to the pyre on Mt. Cithaeron. A trace of this persists, I believe, in a passage of Strabo. Strab. 401 f. quotes from Ephorus an account of certain Boeotians who killed a priestess by casting her upon a pyre (*πύρα*) in consequence of which, whenever Boeotians consulted the oracle at Dodona, the divine response was delivered to them by the mouth of men, not of women as in the case of other tribes, and the Boeotians had to send to Dodona every year a tripod under cover of night and wrapped up in garments. Variants of this tale are given in Zenob. 2. 84 s.v. *Βοιωτοῖς μαντεῖσσαιο*: I have discussed them in *J.H.S.* xxii. 21 f.

Some further facts are known about the *Νάϊα*. Part of the festival took the form of a dramatic exhibition, presumably in the local theatre. An inscription found at Tegea (Ditt.² 700) records among the performances of an unknown tragedian—[*N*]άϊα [ἐν] Δωδώνῃ Ἀχελ[ώ] Εὐριπίδου, Ἀχλλεῖ Χαιρήμωνος (*sic*). Both plays were well chosen: the association between the Achelōis and Dodona was of the closest; and in *Il.* 16. 233 it is Achilles who appeals to the Dodonaean Zeus—indeed Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 71 connects Ἀχλλεύς with Ἀχελώϊος. Comedies may have been played as well as tragedies; for the bronze statuette of a comic actor was found in the precinct (Carapanos i. 32, ii. pl. xiii, 5). But the festival involved athletic as well as dramatic contests. Lebas *Attiques* 595 cites an inscription, which mentions among other victories—*Νᾶα τὰ ἐν Δω[δώνῃ] ἄνδρας πάλην*. Another inscription

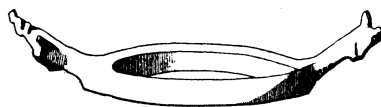
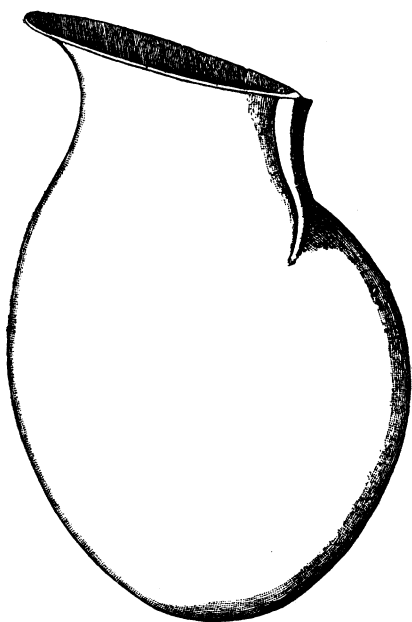
¹ ? cp. Hesych. *δρυμίους τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν κατοικοῦντας*, 'forsan ob succisionem quercuum s. arborum' (Steph. *Thes.* s.v.).

found at Priene (*C.I.G.* 2908) runs—*ὁ δῆμος Φύλιον Θρασυβούλου νικήσαντα παῖδας παγκράτιον Νῆα τὰ ἐν Δωδώνῃ*. Again, Callixenus of Rhodes in describing a procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus writes (*ap. Athen.* 203 A): *ἐστεφανώθησαν δ' ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς ἑκοσι Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ Βερενίκη ἑκοσι τρισὶν ἐφ' ἁρμάτων χρυσῶν καὶ τεμένεσιν ἐν Δωδώνῃ*. The meaning of the last sentence has been much discussed (see Schweighäuser *ad loc.*); but it should probably be rendered—‘Ptolemy I and Berenice were honoured with twenty-three (golden crowns borne along) on golden chariots and with (? models of) sacred precincts at Dodona.’ Whatever the full meaning of this may be, it certainly implies that Ptolemy I and Berenice had won prizes in the Dodonaean games. If *στεφάνοι* were awarded for victories at the *Náia*, it may

fairly be conjectured that the wreath was of oak. The conjecture is confirmed by sundry objects of art found in the *temenos*—a portion of a bronze wreath of oak (Carapanos i. 91, ii. pl. xlix, 8), a dozen detached bronze leaves of oak and laurel (*ib.* i. 91, ii. pl. xlix, 6, 12), an acorn of silver in a shell of bronze (*ib.* i. 92, ii. pl. xlix, 10). Among the vase-fragments found in the lower stratum of the precinct was one which represents a nude man carrying a (? palm) branch: this again may have reference to success in the games (*ib.* i. 112, ii. pl. lxi, 5). Less dubious and more interesting are two large bronze jugs inscribed—

Ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτα Μαχάτα Παρθαίου Διὶ Νάου (*sic*)
καὶ Δώνῃ (*sic*).

Ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτα Μαχάτα Παρθαίου Διὶ Νάοι (*sic*)¹
καὶ Διώνῃ.



These jugs appear to have been presented to the victors, and are therefore comparable with the better-known Panathenaic amphoras. Now the latter were filled with the sacred oil (Simonides *frag.* 155 = Anth. Pal. 13. 19, Pind. *Nem.* 10. 35 with schol. *ad loc.*), which was burnt also in the perpetual lamp of the Erechtheum (Paus. 1. 26. 6, Plut. *v. Sull.* 13). Is it over-bold to conjecture that the Dodona jugs were similarly filled with sacred oil? Strongly in favour of the suggestion is the fact that they are supported

on two bronze stands shaped like lighted lamps (Carapanos i. 45, ii. pl. xxv from which my illustrations are taken). This peculiar feature can be adequately explained only on the assumption that the jugs contained oil meant to kindle or at least to symbolise a perpetual flame.

It would seem, then, that the form of the prize-jar awarded to the victor points to the

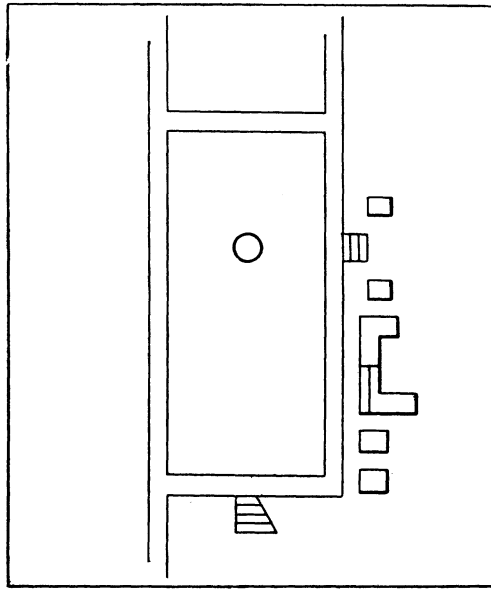
¹ The engraving has *ΝΑΟΥ* by mistake for *ΝΑΟΙ* (Carapanos i. 46).

maintenance of a sacred fire at Dodona. This is the more credible, as there is some reason to believe that the precinct had a sacred hearth. Sophocles in his 'Οδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ (*frag.* 401 Dind. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη) describes the Dodonaean Zeus thus :

Δωδῶνι ναίων Ζεὺς ὁ μέσσιος βροτῶν.

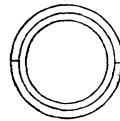
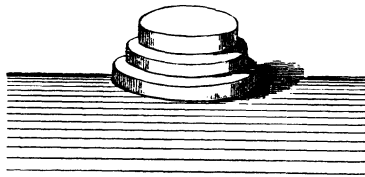
The reading ὁ μέσσιος, though accepted by all,

does not seem to be absolutely certain ; G. Dindorf in the preface to his edition of Steph. Byz. says : ' Ζεὺς ὁ μέσσιος βροτῶν legit Tennulius : in MS. autem ad extremam lineam ὁ-j in sequenti vero linea adustis litteris superest os.' Fortunately we are not dependent on the reading for our knowledge of the ἑστία, since the ἑστία itself is still in existence. I quote from Murray's *Handbook to Greece*⁷ 790 : 'The lower or



S.E. portion of the precinct measures 120 yds. by 114, and is connected by three flights of steps with the upper terrace.

Here were discovered the foundations of three buildings, of which the most interesting was a small oblong edifice, 28 yds. by



11. Nearly in the middle was a small circular altar with three steps. From the dedicatory inscription on a bronze wheel found here, this was evidently a sanctuary of Aphrodite.¹ The writer of the *Handbook* has followed Carapanos, who identified the edifice as 'le sanctuaire d'Aphrodite' and the altar as 'l'autel d'Aphrodite' (i. 23) on the ground of this inscription. But the inscrip-

tion on a moveable object proves little or nothing as to the nature of the building in which the object was found. Besides, a 'circular altar with three steps' in the middle of an oblong structure is clearly a ἑστία in a μέγαρον, an arrangement familiar to us from the Pelasgian palaces of Mycenae, Tiryns, etc. In all probability, therefore, this was not the sanctuary of Aphrodite at all, but the Prytaneum or primitive palace of the Dodonaean king containing his sacred

¹ The illustrations in the text are from Carapanos ii. pl. iii. 7 and pl. vii. 17.

hearth. That it immediately adjoined the grove may perhaps be inferred from the fact that 'a quantity of charred wood has been found in the vegetable soil all over the lower part of the sacred precinct' (Murray *op. cit.* 791, cp. Carapanos i. 27): the grove had been burnt by Dorimachus and his Aetolians in 219 B.C. (Polyb. 4. 67. 3).

One of the inscriptions found by Carapanos (i. 55 no. 8) records the purchase of a slave—

[ἐ]πὶ ναῖάρχῳ Μενεχάρ-
[μου], ἐπὶ προστάτᾳ Μολ-
[λοσσοῦ] Αὔγελλος.

From this it appears that there was at Dodona an eponymous magistrate called the *ναῖαρχος*, who—to judge from his name¹—superintended the Νάια. He would thus correspond to the eponymous *ἄρχων* at Athens, who conducted the great Dionysia, the Thargelia, etc. (Gilbert *Constit. Antiqq. of Sparta and Athens*, p. 252). Now at Athens the eponymous *ἄρχων* had his official residence in the Prytaneum (Aristot. 'Αθ. πολ. 3. 5.), where was the public hearth with its perpetual fire (Poll. 1. 7.). May we not suppose that the *ναῖαρχος* likewise kept the fire burning on the Dodonaean hearth, being in fact the descendant of the Dodonaean kings?

Further information with regard to this royal line can be derived from the legend of the Argonauts. It will be remembered that a bough of the Dodonaean oak fixed in the prow of the good ship Argo guided the heroes of Hellas to the land of the Colchians, where in a grove sacred to Ares the golden fleece hung on another oak-tree (Apollodor. 1. 9. 6). The golden fleece was the fleece of the ram, which had carried through the air Phrixus and Helle, the two children of Athamas by Nephele. Helle, who fell from the sky into the Hellespont,² was a female counterpart of Phaethon, who fell from the sky into the Eridanus. Kuhn (*Abh. d. Berl. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1873, p. 138), Mannhardt (*Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, 1875, p. 243 ff.) and others have, therefore, rightly regarded Helle as a solar heroine, the golden ram as the sun.³

A partial parallel to the golden fleece may be found in a Samian myth. At Samos a sheep had discovered some gold stolen from

the temple of Hera; hence a certain Mandrobulus hung up the animal as a votive offering to the goddess (Ael. *n.a.* 12.40). But the nearest parallel, as Dr. Frazer reminds me, is furnished by the story of the golden lamb (Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* 659 n.4). The scholiast on *Il.* 2. 106 (codd. A.D.) tells it thus: 'Atreus, son of Pelops and king of the Peloponnese, once vowed that he would sacrifice to Artemis the fairest offspring of his flocks. But when a golden lamb was born to him, he repented of his vow and kept the lamb shut up in a chest. Proud of his treasure he used boastful language in the market-place. Thyestes, vexed at this, made love to Aërope and induced her to give him the treasure. Having secured it he told his brother that he had no right to boast in that way, and declared in the hearing of the multitude that the man who had the golden lamb ought to have the kingdom. When Atreus had agreed to this, Zeus sent Hermes and bade him make a compact about the kingdom, informing him that he was about to cause the sun to travel backwards. Atreus made the compact, and the sun set in the east. Hence, inasmuch as heaven had borne witness to the avarice of Thyestes, Atreus received the kingdom and drove Thyestes into banishment.' In this tale possession of the golden lamb and control of the sun's course are alike proofs of fitness to reign. It seems probable, then, that the golden lamb, like the golden ram, was the sun itself. The same conception occurs in the great Dorian cult of Apollo *Καρνείος*, sun-god and ram-god. Further, if the lamb symbolising the sun was possessed by the king, it is implied that the king controlled the sunshine—an implication quite in accordance with primitive thought (*G.B.*² i. 160).

Returning now to Dodona we note that 'Ελλη, the solar heroine, corresponds in name to 'Ελλός, the eponymous founder of the Dodonaean Έλλοί. Another slight indication that we are on the right track is the reappearance of the Prytaneum in connexion with the family of Helle. For at Halus or Alus in Thessaly lived a clan which claimed descent from Athamas, the father of Helle; and the eldest son was forbidden to enter the Prytaneum on pain of being decked with garlands and led out as a sacrifice (Hdt. 7. 197) to Zeus Λαφύστιος (schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 653). We are not without justification, therefore, in attempting to ascertain the prerogatives of the Dodonaean king by the

¹ Cp. the *Δαμπάρχος* at Ceos (*C.I.G.* ii. p. 288, 31).

² Phrixus got safe to Colchis, where he sacrificed the ram to Zeus Φύγιος and gave its fleece to Aetes, son of Helios and Perseis (Apollodor. 1. 9. 6).

³ Cp. *Myth. Vat.* 1. 24. pellem auream, in qua Juppiter in caelum escendit.

aid of Helle and the golden fleece. But, it will be asked, is there any definite proof that a lamb or ram was connected with the oak-cult at Dodona, or that the sun stood in any special relation to the king who reigned there? As to the lamb, let us hear the scholiast on *Od.* 14. 327 (codd. Q.V.): 'A shepherd feeding his sheep in the marshes of Dodona stole the finest of his neighbour's flocks and kept it penned in his own fold. The story goes that the owner sought among the shepherds for the stolen sheep, and, when he could not find them, asked the god who the thief was. They say that the oak then for the first time uttered a voice and said—"The youngest of thy followers." He put the oracle to the proof, and found them with the shepherd who had but recently begun to feed his flock in that district. Shepherds go by the name of followers. The thief was called Mandulas.¹ It is said that he, angered against the oak, wished to cut it down by night; but that a dove showed itself from the trunk and bade him desist from so doing. He in fear gave up the attempt and no longer laid hands on this sacred tree.' In this myth, which the scholiast gives on the authority of Proxenus, the man who kept the sheep was also the man who was about to fell the oak when he was warned by the dove. But this latter, as we have already seen, was none other than Hellus. Hellus, then, the founder of the Dodonaean priesthood, possessed the finest sheep of the neighbourhood. Is not this the connexion between sheep and oak-cult of which we were in search? Again, that the sun stood in a special relation not only to Aeetes king of Colchis, who was the son of Helios, but also to the king of Dodona is even clearer. For the first king of the district after the flood was Phaethon himself (*Plut. v. Pyrrh.* 1).

There are thus some grounds for supposing that the early kings of Dodona were thought to control the sun.² If the earliest of them was identified with Phaethon, it may be surmised that his successors too were regarded as embodiments of the sun-god or sky-god. This I shall hope to prove further on. Meantime note that it would add fresh meaning to Sophocles' line—*Δωδώνι ναίων Ζεὺς ὁμέστιος βροτῶν*. It would also explain the remarkable title *ὁ τοῦ Διὸς*, 'the

representative of Zeus,' borne by the chief priest at Dodona (*Dem. c. Mid.* 53 *bis*). Moreover, it would provide us at last with an adequate reason for the maintenance of the perpetual fire. For the priestly-king, the human embodiment of the sun-god, by keeping up the fire on his earthly *ἑστία* would *ipso facto* be replenishing the solar flame—a sun-charm of the simplest kind. And, as often as he piled up the fuel—billets of oak, doubtless, cut by the *τόμυροι*—he would be helping Zeus to subsist upon his own all-nutrient tree.

Finally, the sacred spring of Zeus was imbued with the solar powers of the god himself: for unlighted torches when brought near to it burst into flame (*Pomp. Mel.* 2. 3. 43, *Plin. n.h.* 2. 228); and at midday, when the sun was blazing in the zenith, the water ceased altogether, while at midnight, when the sun was deep beneath the earth, the water was at its fullest (*Plin. loc. cit.*). If, as is quite possible, Zeus *Ναῖος* means 'Zeus of the stream,' I should identify the 'stream' with this *ἀναπανόμενον ὕδωρ*; it was in fact the liquid bond between Zeus the sky-god and Zeus the earth-god.

(4) It remains to speak of the Dodonaean doves. Philostratus Major *imagg.* 33. 1 begins his description of Dodona thus: *ἡ μὲν χρυσὴ πέλεια ἔτ' ἐπὶ τῆς δρυὸς ἐν λογίοις ἡ σοφὴ καὶ χρησμοί, οὗς ἐκ Διὸς ἀναφθέγγεται*. The exact wording is, as the editors of the Teubner text admit, 'dubia.' But it is at least clear that in Philostratus' picture a golden dove was perched on the sacred oak and served as the oracular mouthpiece of Zeus. Now the name *Χρυσοπέλεια* (= *χρυσὴ πέλεια*) was that of an oak nymph befriended by Arcas at a time when her tree was in danger (*Eumelus ap. Apollodor.* 3. 9. 1 and *ap. Tzetz.* in *Lyc.* 480). The coincidence points to a belief that the spirit immanent in the oak might take the form of a golden dove. The same connexion of ideas may have been present to the mind of Virgil, when he described Aeneas as guided to the golden bough by a couple of doves (*Aen.* 6. 190 ff.). Possibly too it underlies a curious passage of the *Iliad*—*Il.* 5. 778, where Hera and Athena, the wife and the daughter of Zeus, are said to step like a pair of *πελειάδες*:—

*τῷ δὲ βάτην τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἰθμαθ' ὁμοίαι.*³
Dr. Leaf and Mr. Bayfield hold that this is

¹ *Μανδύλας* Q. *Μαρδύλας* V. Cp. *Μανδρόβουλος* in the Samian story.

² *Creuzer Symbolik* iv. 280, long since suggested that 'Ελλη, 'Ελλοί (Ξελλοί), 'Ελληνες, etc., are etymologically connected with *ἥλιος*, *σελήνη*, etc.

³ The same phrase is used of Iris and Eileithyia in *h. Apoll.* 114, *βὰν δὲ ποτὶ τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἰθμαθ' ὁμοίαι*. But this appears to be a mere imitation of the line in the *Iliad*.

'a distinct touch of humour.' Aristotle took it more seriously: *καλῶς τῶν βουλομένων λαθεῖν τὰ ἔχνη περιστεραῖς εἵκασεν* ἀφανή γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ἔχνη, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης (*frag.* 149. 1503 b 1). To me it seems that the explanation of the dove-like gait lies rather in the relation of the goddesses to Zeus. For we find doves in attendance upon Zeus elsewhere. In *Od.* 12. 62 f. it is *πέλειαι τρήρωνες* that bring him ambrosia. And Moero of Byzantium (*ap.* Athen. 491 b) told how, when hidden in Crete from his father Cronus, he had been fed by doves in a cave; wherefore—

*τρήρῳσι πελειάσιν ὥπασε τιμὴν,
αἱ δὲ τοι θέρεος καὶ χερίματος ἄγγελοι εἰσίν.*

Indeed Zeus himself had taken the form of a dove (*περιστερά*) when enamoured of the maiden Phthia, who lived at Aegium in Achaëa (Autocrates *ap.* Athen. 395 A, *Ael. v.h.* 1. 15). A coin of that town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gk. Coins*, Peloponnesus p. 18 'Aegium,' No. 3) shows Phthia following the dove. Other coins of Aegium represent Zeus as an infant suckled by a goat between two tree-stumps, while an eagle hovers above him (M. W. de Visser *de Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* § 190): and these tree-stumps are probably oaks, for the name *Αἴγιον* can be connected with *αἰγίλωψ*, *αἰγίς*, etc. (Schrader *Reallex.* p. 164). At Aegium too, then, we seem to have an oak-spirit embodied in a dove. But, however that may be, it is tolerably certain that at Dodona Zeus was regarded as giving oracles by means of a dove or doves (for their number see Jebb on Soph. *Trach.* 1166 Appendix). The birds would be appropriate to Dione also as the mother of Aphrodite (Pauly-Wissowa i. 2767, 23 ff.), who had a cult in the precinct.

In fact, just as the sacred oak formed the vegetable medium of both the sky-father and the earth-mother, so the doves formed their animal medium.

The cult of Zeus *Ναῖος* appears in sundry places besides Dodona. A small altar found on the acropolis at Athens to the west of the Erechtheum, *i.e.* near the altar of Zeus Ἐρκειος and the *ἀστὴ ἐλαία*, is inscribed *Διὶ Ναίῳ κ.τ.λ.* (*Δελτ.* 1890, p. 145); and a dedication *τῇ Διώνῃ* comes from the same place (*C.I.A.* iv. 2, 1550 c). There was also a cult of Zeus *Ναῖος* in Delos (Bekk. *anecd.* p. 283, 13 *Ναίου Διός· ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Διός, ὃς ἐν Δήλῳ, Ναίου Διὸς καλεῖται*). Athens and Delos were both important Ionian, *i.e.* Pelasgian, centres; so that the worship of Zeus *Ναῖος* may have been in both cases indigenous. Antiphanes in his comedy *Δωδώνη* seems to have had a chorus of *Ἰώνων τρυφεραμπεχόνων* (*ap.* Athen. 526 D). Still, it is equally possible, if not more probable, that both at Athens and in Delos the cult was a comparatively late importation from Dodona. One peculiar feature of the Dodonaean cult occurs yet further east. An inscription found at Tralles mentions a certain Δ. Αὔρηλία Αἰμιλία ἐκ προγόνων παλλακίδων καὶ ἀνιπτοπόδων (*Bull. corr. hell.* 1883, vii. 276). Mr. H. R. Hall (*The Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, p. 101) compared these *ἀνιπτόποδες* in Lydia with the *ἀνιπτόποδες* of Dodona. It may be added that the most important cult of Tralles was the ancient worship of Zeus *Λαρίσιος* (Strab. 440, 649), whose head occurs frequently on Trallian coins (*Brit. Mus. Cat. of Gk. Coins*, Lydia, p. cxxxiv.): Busolt i.² 166 remarks that the name Larisa spells Pelasgian.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be continued.)

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Journal of Philology. Vol. xxviii. No. 56. 1903.

Oxford MSS. of the 'Opuscula' of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, A. B. Poynton. *Platonica*, Henry Jackson. *The Homily of Pseudo-Clement*, C. Taylor. *On the Hisperica Famina*, Robinson Ellis. *On the Geometrical Problem in Plato's Meno 86 E sqq.*, with a note on a passage in the treatise *de lineis insecabilibus* (970^a 5), J. Cook Wilson. *Aristotelica IV.*, I. Bywater. *The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Abbreviations*, C. D. Ginsburg. *Controversies in Armenian Topography II.*, Bernard W. Henderson. *Note on Proverbs vii. 22*, A. A. Bevan. *Darkness the Privation of Light, Night the Absence of Day*, John E. B. Mayor.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxiii. No. 4. 1902.

The Tale of Gyges and the King of Lydia, II., K. B. Smith. *The Literary Form of Horace Serm. I. (ad Maecenatem de vita sua)*, G. L. Hendrickson. *On the date of Pliny's Prefecture of the Treasury of Saturn*, E. T. Merrill. *The Ablative Absolute in Livy*, II. R. B. Steele. *Beginning of the Greek Day*, G. M. Bolling. *Notes on the Cato Maior*, F. G. Moore. *Pierre d'Urte and the Bask Language*, E. S. Dodgson (corrections). Review: *Cesareo's I due simposi in rapporto all' arte moderna* (B. L. G.). Reports. Brief Mention (includes a criticism of Bevan's Translation of the *Prometheus Vincetus* of Aeschylus). Recent Publications, &c. Index to Vol. xxiii.



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Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak. (Continued)

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knowledge of the circumstances of individual districts would be compelled to differ from Beloch. For actual numbers the data were almost exclusively military. Beloch had adopted one ratio between the military levy to the population for all Greek states alike. This method of calculation is defective because a pastoral state (*e.g.* Arcadia or Aetolia) is less burdened by the levy than an agricultural state (*e.g.* Argos, Elis, or Boeotia); and these latter again than a purely commercial state (like Corinth). Taking these data and also the modern statistics into consideration, Dr. Grundy considered that Beloch had understated the population of certain of the states and regions, especially Euboea, Corinth, and the Lacedaemonian territory, as well as that of Elis, but had overstated the population of Arcadia.

With respect to the population of Attica Dr.

Grundy pointed out certain difficulties in accepting Beloch's rejection of the evidence of Thucydides II. 13, especially in view of Diodorus' evidence on the same subject, which, though it agrees with it in the main, differs from it sufficiently to show that it is not derived from Thucydides. He also pointed out the fact that the age limits of liability to active military service in Greek states were in all probability one on paper, and another in ordinary practice. In the dry climate of Greece the limits of life and physical vigour are far more circumscribed than in Western and Northern Europe. This is conclusively shown by comparative statistics.

L. R. FARNELL,
Hon. Sec.

EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD,
April.

THE CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL SOCIETY.

THIS association of persons interested in the Teaching of Classics in Cambridge was inaugurated at a meeting held in Peterhouse on May 9, with Professor Sir R. C. Jebb in the chair. It is designed to offer facilities for the discussion of methods of Teaching and for the interchange of opinions upon questions affecting classical studies. It is also hoped that the Society will render possible a greater degree of co-

operation in the Teaching system. Some of the speakers at the meeting suggested the further possibility of forming in England a Classical Association on the lines of the Classical Association of Scotland, if the newly formed organisation could combine with other bodies for that purpose. A committee was appointed to draw up a constitution for the Society.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER AND THE OAK.

(*Continued from page 186.*)

IN my last paper I dealt with most of the points essential to an understanding of the Dodonaean cult: but one fact of primary importance has still to be considered. There was at Dodona a tradition of human sacrifice. I have already alluded to the legend that a priestess of Dodona was done to death by certain Boeotians, who cast her upon a pyre (Ephorus *ap.* Strab. 401 f.) or into a caldron of heated water (Heraclides *ap.* Zenob. 2. 84). There were also occasions on which the oracle definitely prescribed a human sacrifice. Pausanias (7. 21. 1-5 Frazer) states that Coresus, a priest of Dionysus at Calydon, once loved a girl Calirrhoe, who turned a deaf ear to his advances. Thereupon the priest prayed to his god and so brought upon the townsfolk a common frenzy, from which many died. The rest in their extremity applied to the oracle at Dodona and were told that the

divine wrath would not be appeased 'until Coresus had sacrificed to Dionysus either Calirrhoe herself, or some one who should dare to die for her. Finding no way of escape, the damsel sought refuge with those who had brought her up; but she got no protection from them, so there was nothing left for it but that she should be slain. When the preparations for the sacrifice had been made as the oracle of Dodona had directed, the damsel was brought like a victim to the altar, and Coresus stood ready to offer the sacrifice; but, yielding to the impulse of love rather than of anger, he slew himself instead of her, thus giving proof of the most unfeigned affection that ever was heard of. But when Calirrhoe saw Coresus lying dead she repented, and, touched with pity for him and shame at her own treatment of him, she cut her throat at the spring which is in Calydon not far from the harbour, and which has been called Calirrhoe after her ever since.' The romantic colouring of the story is of course late, but—as in the case of Aristodemus'

daughter and her lover (Paus. 4. 9) or in that of Comaetho and Melanippus (Paus. 7. 19)—behind it lurks a genuine tradition of human sacrifice ordained by a conservative oracle. The same bloodthirsty trait comes out in another myth connected with Dodona. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1. 19), the Pelasgians, when they invaded central Italy, encamped before Kotyle, *i.e.* Aquae Cutiliae, a city of the Aborigines. On seeing the floating island and hearing the name of its inhabitants they concluded that an oracle once delivered to them at Dodona had at last found fulfilment—

στείχετε μαιόμενοι Σικελῶν Σατόρνιαν αἶαν
ἦδ' Ἀβοριγινέων Κοτύλην, οὐ νᾶσος ὀχέεται·
οἷς ἀναμιχθέντες δεκάτην ἐκπέμψατε Φοῖβῳ
καὶ κεφαλὰς Κρονίδῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε
φῶτα.

Dionysius adds that L. Manilius (Μάμιος MSS.) had seen this oracle inscribed in archaic letters on a tripod set up in the precinct of Zeus. It seems probable, as Mommsen pointed out (*Rh. Mus.* xvi. 284 ff.), that Dionysius is founding on Varro, who (*ap.* Macrob. 1. 7. 28 ff., cp. 1. 11. 48 ff.) tells the same tale together with its sequel, *viz.* that the Pelasgians drove out the Sicilienses, devoting a tithe of their spoils to Apollo, and erected a sanctuary of Dis with an altar to Saturn, whose feast they named the Saturnalia. 'For long,' he continues, 'they thought to appease Dis with the heads of men and Saturn with human victims on account of the line

καὶ κεφαλὰς Ἄϊδῃ¹ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα,

but, when Hercules came back through Italy with the oxen of Geryon, he induced—so the story goes—their descendants to change this grim sacrifice for a better by offering to Dis, not the heads of men, but masks made to look like men, and by honouring the altars of Saturn, not with a slain man, but with kindled lights, because the word *phōta* denotes *lights* as well as a *man*. Such surrogates were of course not chosen at random but with a view to maintaining the early features of the ritual in question. The human faces (*oscilla*) swinging from the boughs (Verg. *georg.* 2. 389, cp. figg. in Smith *Dict. Ant.*³ s.v. 'oscilla') point backwards to actual human heads hung on a sacred tree (Bötticher *Baumkultus* fig. 31). The candles (*cerei*) kept burning

at the shrine (Dar.-Sagl. *Dict. Ant.* i. 869 s.v. 'candela,' 1020 s.v. 'cera') imply a perpetual fire on a sacred hearth.²

It appears then that in early days Zeus of Dodona demanded 'heads and a man'—a demand evaded by the offering of equivocal substitutes. The same principle, in *sacris simulata pro veris accipi* (Serv. *Aen.* 2. 116, cp. 4. 512), is illustrated by the legend of

² Others used the same Dodonaean oracle to account for the ritual of the *argei*. Ov. *fast.* 5. 625 ff. states that Zeus of Dodona (626 fatidici...Iovis) bade sacrifice to Saturn (627 falcifero...seni) every year two human victims (627 duo corpora gentis) by flinging them into the river; and that his bidding was literally carried out till Hercules substituted puppets for men. Ovid perhaps drew upon M. Verrius Flaccus *de fastis* (so H. Winther *de fastis Verrii Flacci ad Ovidio adhibitis* Diss. Berol. 1885 p. 53, Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa i. 692, 62 f.: but see Schanz *Röm. Lit.* II. i.² 320 f.), as probably did Festus p. 334 Müll. s.v. 'sexagenarios': sexagenarios <de ponte olim deiciebant> cuius causam Manilius hanc refert, quod Romam qui incoluerint <primi Aborigines aliquem h>e omnem sexaginta <annorum qui esset immolar>e Diti Patri quot <annis soliti fuerint> quod facere eos de <stitisse adventu Her>culis. sed religio <sa veteris ritus observatione sc>irpeas hominum ef>figies de ponte in Tiberim antiquo> modo mittere <instituisse>. Lactantius, indeed (*div. inst.* 1. 21), cites Varro as his authority, when he declares that the practice of flinging a man from the Pons Milvius into the Tiber arose from the oracle καὶ κεφαλὰς Ἄϊδῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα: but the blunder *Milvius* for *Sublucius* makes us suspicious. In all probability, as Wissowa has shown (Pauly-Wissowa i. 692, 66 ff.), it was not Varro, but Verrius, who traced the *argei* to Dodona. Now Verrius, though not such a polymath as Varro, was no fool: and we may even accept his view in the modified sense that that the *argei* were an institution of the Pelasgians or of the Aborigines their kinsmen (Ridgeway *Early Age* i. 255 f.). If, where so much is obscure, a conjecture is permissible, I would hazard the guess that the *argeus* or *sexagenarius* was the superannuated representative of a vegetation god, probably of a tree-Jupiter. This at least would account for the main features of the ceremony—the presence, not only of the *pontifices*, but also of the *flaminica Dialis* with dishevelled hair and signs of mourning (Gell. 10. 15, Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 86); the part taken by the Vestal Virgins (Paul. p. 15, Ov. *fast.* 5. 621); the immersion of the straw puppets from the bridge (*G.B.*² chap. 3); and perhaps the fact that the Ides of May, on which according to Dion. Hal. 1. 38. 3 the *sacra argeorum* took place, were also marked by *feriae Iovi Mercurio Maia*. It would also suit the probable meaning of the word *argeus*, *viz.* 'white,' *i.e.* white-headed, a grey-beard (L. Lange *Röm. Altert.* i.³ 83, W. Warde Fowler *Rom. Fest.* p. 118 f.), and the Oscan name *casnar*, 'an old man' (Varro *ap.* Non. p. 86 Merc. s.v. 'carnales': vix ecfatus erat cum more maiorum ultro carnales arripiunt, de ponte in Tiberim deturbant, Varro *de l. Lat.* 7. 86, Paul. s.v. 'casnar'), cp. *canus* for **casnus* (Lindsay *Lat. lang.* p. 307). Mr. Warde Fowler (*Rom. Fest.* p. 118) has remarked that the puppets used in analogous rites throughout Europe are often called 'the old one,' 'the white man with the white hair, the snow-white husband,' or are dressed in a white shirt. Note also that the *flamen Dialis* according to Varro (*ap.* Gell. 10. 15, 32) 'solum album habet galerum.'

¹ Ἄϊδῃ for Κρονίδῃ is a noteworthy variation: Zeus at Dodona was telluric (p. 179).

Numa. Plutarch (*v. Num.* 15 Langh.) states that once, when the Aventine 'abounded with flowing springs and shady groves,' it was frequented by Picus and Faunus, who taught King Numa many things, including 'a charm for thunder and lightning, composed of onions hair and pilchards, which is used to this day. Others say, these demigods did not communicate the charm, but that by the force of magic they brought down Jupiter from heaven. The god, resenting this at Numa's hands, ordered the charm to consist of heads. "Of onions," replied Numa. "No, human"— "Hairs," said Numa, desirous to fence against the dreadful injunction, and interrupting the god. "Living," said Jupiter: "Pilchards," said Numa. He was instructed, it seems, by Egeria how to manage the matter. Jupiter went away propitious, in Greek *Ἄεως*, whence the place was called *Illicium*; and so the charm was effected.' This story is usually connected with the cult-title of Jupiter *Ellicius* (Liv. 1. 20. 7, *Ov. fast.* 3. 327 f., Arnob. 5. 1 following Valerius Antias); but Plutarch's version suggests rather that there was a Jupiter *Illicius*, Jupiter of the oak (ilex, iliceus, iligneus, ilignus).¹

The original practice, undisguised by the refinements of a later age, appears in the myth of Phorbas. The elder Philostratus (*imagg.* 2. 19) describes how the Phlegyae chose as their king Phorbas, the biggest and most ferocious member of their tribe. He dwelt apart under an oak, which was regarded as his palace; and the Phlegyae resorted to him for judgment. This oak grew on the road to Delphi, and Phorbas terrorised the Delphic pilgrims. Contending in various athletic feats with the strongest of them, he would cut off their heads and hang them on his oak, where they swung in the wind—a ghastly sight. Apollo thus robbed of his votaries came as a boxer and overthrew Phorbas, while a thunderbolt from the sky blasted his oak. The place still bears the name *Δρυὸς κεφαλαί*. Hdt. 9. 39 and Thuc. 3. 24 further state that it was a pass of Mt. Cithaeron on the way from Athens to Plataea, and that the Boeotians called it *Τρεῖς κεφαλαί*. Now we have

¹ Tarquinius Superbus is said to have 'restored' the Compitalia. An oracle of Apollo ordered 'ut pro capitibus capitibus supplicaretur'; and for some time boys were sacrificed to Mania, mother of the Lares, to secure the safety of the household. On the expulsion of Tarquinius the consul Junius Brutus bade the people substitute garlic and poppy heads, and hang up before their doors puppets for Mania (Macrob. 1. 7. 34 f.).

already seen cause to compare the oak-cult of Dodona with the oak-cult of Plataea (p. 181). It seems reasonable therefore to explain the *κεφαλαί* of Dodona by the *κεφαλαί* of Plataea. We are thus led to conjecture that the priest or priestly-king of Dodona at one time was accustomed to challenge all comers to a contest of strength and, if he worsted them, to slay them and hang their heads on his oak-tree. The conjecture is supported by two² myths, one from Thrace, the other from Elis.

Dryas, the 'oak-man' (*Δρύας*), was a suitor for the hand of Pallene, a princess of the Thracian Odomanti. As such he had a rival, Clitus by name. At the bidding of Sitho, king of the country, their claims were to be decided by a chariot-race, in which the victor should win the princess and the kingdom together. Pallene herself favoured Clitus; and an old servitor of hers induced the charioteer of Dryas to remove the linch-pins of his master's chariot before the race. Dryas fell, and was at once run over and killed by Clitus. Sitho, on realising his daughter's deceit, built a huge funeral pyre for Dryas and was minded to slay Pallene upon it. But a divine portent and a downpour of rain from the sky made him change his mind: instead, he prepared a wedding-feast for the Thracians who were present, and gave Clitus his daughter to wife (Parthen. 6, cp. Con. 10).

In this myth the oak-man had to contend with a rival for the kingdom; but nothing

² Cereyon of Eleusis, who forced strangers to wrestle with him and slew them when they were thrown, also furnishes a parallel to the grim figure of Phorbas. Observe too that his name *Κερκυνών* or *Κερκυανεύς* denotes the 'oak'-man, being in all probability connected with *quercus*. Thus the trial of personal strength is again associated with an oak-king. Perhaps too a trace of the 'heads' can be discovered in his myth. Cereyon of Eleusis is commonly identified with Cereyon of Stympthalus: e.g. Charax (*ap. schol. Aristoph. nub.* 508) relates that Agamedes, king of Stympthalus, married Epicaste, who brought him Trophonius as a step-son and bore him Cereyon as a son. Agamedes, Trophonius, and Cereyon together plundered the treasure-house of Augeias at Elis. Agamedes was there caught in a trap; and, to prevent discovery, Trophonius cut off his head and fled with Cereyon to Orchomenus in Boeotia. Agamedes pursued them and they parted—Trophonius going to Lebadea, Cereyon to Athens. Pausanias' version of this tale (9. 37. 5) mentions Agamedes and Trophonius, but says nothing about Cereyon. The parallel story of Rhampsinitus' treasury (Hdt. 2. 121) also has two thieves. It seems possible, therefore, that Cereyon is an inter-loper in the myth, having been imported into it because he too was in the habit of cutting off heads. Again, Apollo may have figured in the story of Cereyon, as he did in that of Phorbas: cp. *C.I.A.* 3. 1203 *ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος Κερκυανεύς*.

is said about 'heads.' For these we turn to its doublet, the myth of Oenomaüs. It is told at length in the *Epitome* of Apollodorus (2. 4 ff.). Oenomaüs, king of Pisa, had a daughter Hippodamia, for whose hand he instituted a contest on the following terms. The suitor was to take Hippodamia on his chariot and flee to the Isthmus of Corinth. Oenomaüs, clad in armour and mounted on the car of Ares, would (after sacrificing a ram to Zeus: Diod. 4. 73) go in pursuit and, if he caught them, would slay him. In this way he slew many suitors and nailed their heads to his house. When Pelops came to try his luck, Hippodamia fell in love with him and persuaded Myrtilus, son of Hermes and charioteer of Oenomaüs, not to insert the linch-pins of his master's car. Oenomaüs was thrown, and, being entangled in the reins, was dragged along and killed or,

a roof on them. The structure has been erected in order to protect a wooden pillar which is decayed by time and is kept together chiefly by bands. This pillar stood, they say, in the house of Oenomaüs, and when the house was struck by lightning the fire which destroyed all the rest of the house spared this pillar alone.' The same authority states (5. 14. 7 Frazer): 'At the place where are the foundations of the house of Oenomaüs there are two altars; one is that of Zeus of the Courtyard, which Oenomaüs appears to have had built himself; the other altar is that of Thunderbolt Zeus, which I suppose they made afterwards when the thunderbolt had fallen on the house of Oenomaüs.' The house of Oenomaüs, whatever its precise site (see Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 621), must have been very close to the great temple of Zeus; so that,

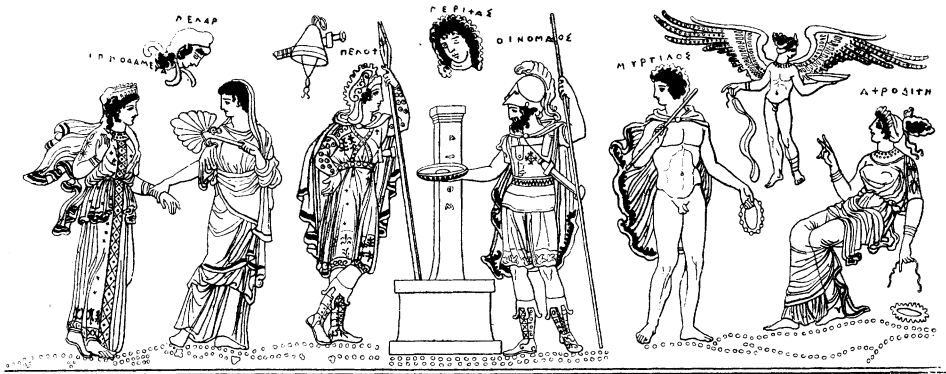


FIG. 1.—OENOMAÜS AND PELOPS: ZEUS ANICONIC.

according to others, was despatched by Pelops, who thereby won his bride and became king of Pisa.

This legend so closely resembles the foregoing one that, when Oenomaüs is substituted for Dryas, we are inclined to ask whether Oenomaüs like Dryas stood in any special relation to a tree. Now a sacred tree was often conventionalised into a pillar (see e.g. A. Evans 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult' in *J.H.S.* xxi. 99 ff.). Possibly, therefore, the single pillar of Oenomaüs' palace still standing in the second century A.D. was in reality the old cultus-tree of the kings of Pisa. This at least fits in with all that is known of it. Pausanias (5. 20. 6 Frazer) says: 'What the Eleans call the pillar of Oenomaüs is as you go from the great altar to the sanctuary of Zeus: on the left there are four pillars with

if Oenomaüs' pillar represented a sacred tree, that tree was probably a tree-Zeus. The suggestion is confirmed by an Apulian amphora from Ruvo, now in the British Museum (*Cat. Vases* F 331) and here reproduced from the *Arch. Zeitung* 1853, Taf. 54, 1.

This vase (Fig. 1) shows a most interesting variation on the scene represented in the east pediment of the temple of Zeus. The artist has depicted Oenomaüs and Pelops, taking the oath before they start on their race. Only, instead of the anthropomorphic Zeus who forms the central figure in the pediment, he has placed a four-sided pillar, splayed at the foot as if hewn from a tree-trunk and inscribed ΔΙΟΞ. This can be nothing but the aniconic Zeus of Oenomaüs, who is about to pour a libation from a *phiale* over the altar in front of his god. Facing

him stands Pelops in rich attire. The two competitors are flanked by Myrtilus on the one hand, Hippodamia (led forward by Peitho!) on the other: Eros and Aphrodite appropriately complete the group. On the palace wall in the background hangs a white *pileos* with a sword, and to either side of it two human heads—one that of a young man named ΠΕΛΑΓ *i.e.* Πελάγων (Paus. 6. 21. 11) wearing a Phrygian cap with lappets, the other that of a second youth called ΠΕΡΙΦΑΣ, *Περίφας*—doubtless the heads of Pelops' ill-fated predecessors.¹

Another vase from the same collection (*Cat. Vases*, F 278), an Apulian crater, should be studied side by side with this amphora: the illustration in the text (Fig. 2) is from the *Bull. Nap.* nuov. ser. vi. 1858, tav. 8. Although the names are not here marked, it can hardly be questioned that

closed by two tree-stumps surmounted by a couple of doves.² The tree-stumps alone might be taken to indicate the Altis or Grove. But the two doves, as Minervini argued (*Bull. Nap.* 1858, p. 148 f.), should be identified with those of the Dodonaean Zeus, who spoke his oracles *δισσῶν ἐκ πελειάδων* (Soph. *Trach.* 172, with schol. *ad loc.*). This looks very much as though Zeus at Olympia had once had an oracular tree-cult comparable to that of Dodona. Strab. 353 observes: 'The sanctuary was originally famous on account of the oracle of Olympian Zeus; when that ceased (*ἐκλειφθέντος*), its reputation none the less continued and reached its well-known height owing to the common festival and the Olympic contest.' The oracle of Zeus at Olympia was consulted by Agesipolis i. (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7), and is alluded to by Pindar (*Ol.* 6. 6) as follows: 'If,' he says, 'one be an Olympic victor and

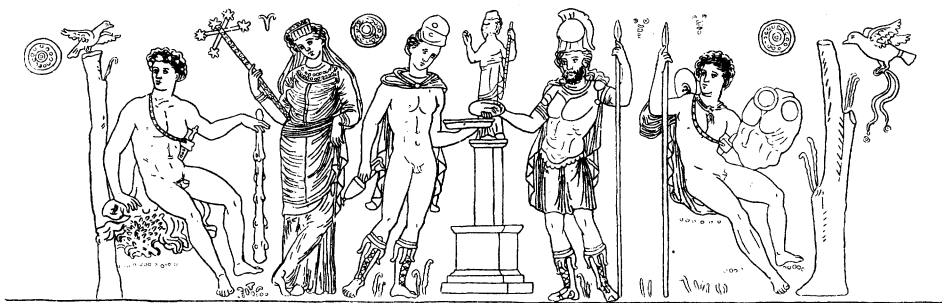


FIG. 2.—OENOMAÛS AND PELOPS: ZEUS ICONIC.

the subject is again the compact of Oenomaüs with Pelops before the altar of Zeus (so Walters *Cat. Vases*, iv. 136, Reinach, *Rép. Vases. Peints*, i. 495). Zeus is iconic, but stands on the top of the old four-sided pillar with the altar placed as before. The central figures are here too flanked by Myrtilus and Hippodamia; the former bears armour; the latter, a bridal torch. The presence of Heracles marks the spot as Olympia; for a wide-spread tradition made Heracles the founder of the Olympic games (Paus. 5. 7, Apollodor. 2. 7. 2, Diod. 4. 14, *al.*). But the most notable feature of the whole design is its frame-work: it is en-

treasurer (*ταμίας*) to the oracular altar of Zeus at Pisa and one of them that founded glorious Syracuse, what manner of song would not such an one win?' The reference is to Agesias of Syracuse, one of the Iamid clan, which traced its descent from Iamos, son of Apollo (*ib.* 58. 84 f.) and grandson of Poseidon (*ib.* 99 f.), and served the oracular altar of Zeus (*ib.* 119 f.), drawing its omens from burnt-offerings (*Ol.* 8. 3, schol. vet. *Ol.* 6. 7, schol. rec. *Ol.* 6. 119). Possibly before the introduction of the wild-olive the sacred tree had been an oak. Nero dedicated four crowns in the temple of Zeus at Olympia, 'three in the shape of wild-olive leaves and one in the shape of oak leaves' (Paus. 5.

¹ Philostr. Jun. *imagg.* 9. 3 *κεφαλὰς ταύτας, τῶν προφυλαίων ἀνημμένην ἐκάστην*. So on a sarcophagus in the Vatican (Roscher *lex.* iii. 782) and on another at Naples (Baumeister *Denkm.* 1203). One of these victims was Πίλας (Paus. 6. 21. 11), a name which occurs nowhere else: does it denote the 'oak'-man (*πίπρος*)?

² Cp. a vase at Arezzo (*Mon. dell' Inst.* viii. pl. 3, Baumeister *Denkm.* fig. 1395), which shows Hippodamia on the car of Pelops: in the background are two laurel-trees, and the car is accompanied by two flying doves.

12. 8). Indeed, it seems probable that the Olympic Zeus had at different times been associated with different trees. (1) Originally, as at Dodona, he may have had an oak or an oak-grove. For this the evidence, as cited above, is scanty. But note also that just as Dione superseded the primeval Gaea, as consort of the Dodonaean Zeus, so Hera at Olympia may have been the successor of Gaea, who once gave her oracles there at the so-called Gaeum (Paus. 5. 14. 10). The oak pillar surviving in the opisthodomus of the Heraeum (Paus. 5. 16. 1) would be highly appropriate to the partner of an oak-Zeus. (2) A mythical equivalent for the oak was the poplar, as may be seen from the myths of Erysichthon (Call. *h. Cer.* 37), Dryope (Anton. Lib. 32), etc. This substitution has left its traces on language; for Schrader *Reallex.* pp. 164, 207, points out that αἰγίρος, 'a poplar,' is derived from the same root as αἰγίλωψ, 'the winter- or Valonia-oak,' αἰγανή, 'an oaken spear,' *aesculus* (*aeg-sculus), 'an ever-green oak,' etc.; and κερκίς, apparently connected with *quercus*, denotes a kind of poplar (Hesych. κερκίς αἰγίρος) resembling the λεύκη or white poplar (Theophr. *h. pl.* 3. 14. 2). The transition from oak to poplar was probably due in the first instance to an actual change of vegetation. In prehistoric times the oak seems to have been the principal tree throughout Europe (Schrader *Prehist. Ant.* p. 271 f., Frazer *G.B.*² iii. 347 n. 1): nowadays the white poplar is the finest tree in Greece (Leaf on *Il.* 13. 389). But the transition may also have been facilitated by some botanical likeness. Thus at Sicyon in the precinct of Aphrodite leaves of the παιδῆρος were burnt along with the thighs of the victims. Pausanias (2. 10. 6 Frazer) says of this tree: 'Its leaves are less than those of the oak, but larger than those of the evergreen oak: in shape they resemble oak leaves: one side of them is blackish, the other is white: their colour may be best likened to that of the leaves of the white poplar.' Frazer *ad loc.* identifies the παιδῆρος with the *quercus Ballota* or the *quercus coccifera*. Nicander (*frag.* 2. 55 f. παιδὸς ἔρωτες | λεύκη ἰσαίμενοι) also compares this species of oak to the white poplar. Perhaps, therefore, it was as a substitute for the oak that the white poplar was venerated at Olympia. Heracles found it growing beside the Acheron in Thesprotis and brought it thence to Greece: 'And I believe,' says Pausanias (5. 14. 2), 'that when he sacrificed to Zeus at Olympia, Heracles himself burned the thigh bones of the victims on

wood of the white poplar.' Henceforward none but this wood was used in sacrificing to Zeus or Pelops (Paus. 5. 13. 3, 5. 14. 2). Also, at Lepreum, some fifteen miles from Olympia, there was a cult of Zeus Λευκαῖος, probably a god of the white poplar (Paus. 5. 5. 5 and Frazer *ad loc.*). (3) The wild-olive, again, seems to have been another substitute for the oak. On the one hand, the species of wild-olive called φυλία was ὁμοιον πρίνω (Hesych. *s.v.* φυλείης). On the other, the species of oak called αἰγίλωψ was also known as ἐλαῖς (Hesych. ἐλαῖς αἰγίλωψ). The wild olive at Olympia, which was brought by Heracles from the land of the Hyperboreans to supply a dearth of trees (Pind. *Ol.* 3. 13 ff.), is said to have had this peculiarity, that the upper, not the under, surface of its leaves was white (schol. vet. Aristoph. *Plut.* 586, [Aristot.] *mir. ausc.* 51).¹ Whether this was so or not, it is probable that the combination of a light with a dark surface was one reason which led the Greeks to replace the oak alike by the λεύκη and by the κότινος: the word φυλία could denote both the white poplar and a kind of olive (Hesych. *s.v.* φυλία).

Oenomaüs was by no means the only king of Elis who disposed of his kingdom by a race. It was indeed the traditional procedure. The name of the first king of Elis, Aethlius, son of Zeus (Paus. 5. 1. 3), already points to it. He was the father of Endymion, who in turn set his sons to run a race at Olympia for the kingdom (Paus. 5. 1. 4, 5. 8. 1). 'About a generation after Endymion, Pelops celebrated the games in honour of Olympian Zeus in a grander way than all who had gone before him' (Paus. 5. 8. 2 Frazer). Later, the claims of Dius and Oxylyus were settled by a single combat (Paus. 5. 4. 1). 'After the reign of Oxylyus who also held the games, the Olympic festival was discontinued down to the time of Iphitus. When Iphitus renewed the games . . . people had forgotten the ancient customs, and they only gradually remembered them' (Paus. 5. 8. 5 Frazer). 'Iphitus presided alone over the games and after Iphitus the descendants of Oxylyus did likewise' (Paus. 5. 9. 4 Frazer). It seems probable therefore that in mythical times the Olympic contest was a means of determining who should be king of the district and champion of the local tree-Zeus. This supposition explains several points about

¹ See further L. Weniger *der heilige Ölbaum in Olympia*, Weimar 1895, p. 8 ff. Cp. also the white olive-branch held by Heracles on a *hydria* in the British Museum (*Cat. Vases*, F 211).

the treatment of the Olympic victor even in historical times. He was feasted 'within the Prytaneum, opposite the chamber in which is the hearth' (Paus. 5. 15. 12 Frazer). His crown was displayed originally on a bronze-plated tripod (Paus. 5. 12. 5), afterwards on a table of ivory and gold (Paus. 5. 20. 2). It was a spray of olive like the wreath of Zeus himself (Paus. 5. 11. 1), and was cut from the *ἐλαία καλλιστέφανος*, which grew behind the temple of Zeus (Paus. 5. 15. 3), with a golden sickle by a boy, both of whose parents were alive (schol. vet. Pind.

many olive-sprays (Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 123 ff. *πολλὰ μὲν κείνοι δίκον | φύλλ' ἐπὶ καὶ στεφάνους* | *πολλὰ δὲ πρόσθεν πτερὰ δέξατο Νίκας*), while the *agonothetes* adjusts prophylactic fillets to a remarkable helmet¹ on his head.

¹ Nothing can, I think, be inferred from the griffin's head that tops this cap-of-honour. It reminds one at first of the griffins on the helmet of the Parthenos (Paus. 1. 24. 5) and so suggests a Panathenaic victor. But the griffin is most frequently associated with Apollo (see Furtwängler in Roscher *lex.* i. 1774, 12 ff., Dürrbach in Dar.-Sagl. *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1672), which would point rather to a Pythian victory. And a whole series of griffin's heads in bronze has been



FIG. 3.—THE CROWNING OF A VICTOR IN THE GAMES.

Ol. 3. 60). Again, the singular ceremony of the *φυλλοβολία* (schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 8. 76 *οἱ νικῶντες ἐφυλλοβολοῦντο*, *Etym. mag.* 532, 46 *πάλοι ἐφυλλοβόλουν τοὺς νικῶντας*, other reff. in Dar.-Sagl. *Dict. Ant.* i. 1084, n. 72) becomes intelligible if the successful athlete was regarded as a sort of Jack-in-the-green, a human representative of the tree-god. As such he is shown on a *kylix* from Vulci now in the Bibl. Nat. Paris: my illustration of it (Fig. 3) is from the *Arch. Zeit.* 1853, Taf. 52, 3. The athlete is here depicted holding in his hands not only his wreath but also

ound at Olympia (Furtwängler *die Bronzen von Olympia* pll. 45, 46, 47, 49).

Still, ceremonial head-gear is always of importance and it is worth while to investigate the point further. A very similar helmet is found on an amphora from Capua published in the *Compte Rendu de Saint-Petersbourg* 1874 p. 208, Atlas pl. vii., (here reproduced as Fig. 4). The artist has represented a winged Nike bringing a fillet to a young Isthmian or Nemean victor, who already carries in his hands the *selinon* and olive-sprays and is decorated with the ribbands. He wears a helmet with a curiously elongated spike, from which hangs another fillet inscribed *HO ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ*. The nearest parallel to these spiked helmets that I can quote is the *apex* worn *c.*

Further, the statue of the victor was set up in the Altis (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 16); and, on his return home, he was welcomed with hymns and honours of all kinds—e.g. clad in a purple mantle like a king (schol. Ar. *nub.* 70) he was drawn by white horses (Diod. 13. 82) into the city through a breach in its wall (Plut. *symp.* 2. 5, Suet. *Nero* 25, Dio 63. 20). Indeed Lucian (Anach. 10) speaks of the victor as *ισόθεον νομιζόμενον*. And this was no mere figure of speech. Philippus of Crotona, an Olympic victor, was worshipped after his death as a hero by the men of Eggesta διὰ τὸ ἐωντοῦ κάλλος (Hdt. 5. 47). The statue of Polydamas the athlete at Olympia was said to cure cases of fever

(Luc. *deor. concil.* 12). Euthymus the boxer, a native of Locri in Italy, was actually deified during his life-time on account of his unbroken record at Olympia (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 152). It was said that he never died but passed from earth in some mysterious fashion (Paus. 6. 6. 10): the same was said of Cleomedes of Astypalaea, who was heroified by his countrymen (Paus. 6. 9. 8). Theagenes the Thasian, a man who won no fewer than 1,400 crowns (Paus. 6. 11. 5), contrived on one occasion to beat Euthymus (Paus. 6. 11. 4): he too was worshipped as a god both in Thasos and elsewhere (Paus. 6. 11. 8 f., Luc. *deor. concil.* 12). These facts occurring among a people so enamoured of equality can hardly be explained except on the assumption that the Ὀλυμπιονίκης was originally and essentially divine.¹

I would here call attention to a fifth century *krater* preserved in the Art Institute of Chicago and published by Prof. E. Gardner in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 1899 iii. 331 ff., pl. 4 (from which Fig. 5 is taken). It represents a male figure holding a wreath and decked out with olive sprays and a variety of woollen fillets. A winged Nike steps before him and a dancing maiden follows him. If this were all, we should regard him without more ado as an Olympic victor. But this is not all. He seems to be in a kind of transport or ecstasy, in which he imagines himself to be Zeus and challenges comparison with the sky-god. He is bearded and wreathed with olive, as Zeus was. He grasps a thunderbolt with his right hand and brandishes a sword with his left. He wears greaves too, one on his right leg, the other on his left arm, perhaps to protect it against a bolt from the upper air. Now this combination of thunderbolt with warlike equipment reminds us of the Zeus worshipped by Oenomaüs. For, on the one hand, the house of Oenomaüs contained an altar of Thunderbolt Zeus (Paus. 5. 14. 7), and, on the other, 'Oenomaüs used to sacrifice . . . to Warlike Zeus whenever he was about to engage in a chariot-race with any of the suitors of Hippodamia' (Paus. 5. 14. 6 Frazer). Here then we have an Olympic victor posing as the local Zeus, Zeus Κεραυνίος and Ἄρειος. But who is this



FIG. 4.—AN ISTHMIAN OR NEMEAN VICTOR.

by the *flamen Dialis* at Rome. It was a short wand of olive wood (Paul. *s.v.* 'albogalerus': *virgula oleagina* bound about with a wisp of wool (Verg. *Aen.* 8. 664, Serv. *Aen.* 2. 683, interp. Serv. *Aen.* 10. 270, Isid. 19. 30. 5). Now, if the victor in the moment of his triumph wore on his head a cap recalling the *virgula oleagina* of the *flamen Dialis*, may we not infer that the spike on his cap was in reality the symbol of the sacred tree? Just as the tree once worshipped by English villagers came to be represented by the May-pole with its coloured streamers, so the sacred tree at Olympia and elsewhere may have come to be represented by the rod borne on the victor's head. A similar transition from a sacred bough wreathed with fillets to a ceremonial helmet perhaps underlies an obscure gloss in Hesychius: Κορυθαλία· δάφνη ἐσπεμμένη. τινὲς τὴν εἰρεσιώνην. ἄλλοι δὲ ὑπερορί <ὑπερβόρειον? > θεόν. Preller-Robert⁴ 307, n. 2 had already suggested that Κορυθαλία might be connected with κούρ.

¹ Here we find ourselves on the threshold of a broader question. Did the great games of Greece in every case originate in a struggle for the post of priestly-king? Where tradition connects them with the funeral of a local hero, the priestly-king may have been thought to embody the spirit of the deceased hero. But the question is too large to be treated in a paragraph.

victor? I gladly accept the suggestion made to me in conversation by Miss J. Harrison, that he is Salmoneus.¹ The essential features of the composition, *viz.* the triumphant progress of the Olympic victor and his mad imitation of Zeus, exactly fit the description of Salmoneus given by Virgil *Aen.* 6. 588 ff.

per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis
urbem
ibat *ovans*, divomque sibi poscebat honorem,
demens.

The details are equally appropriate—Nike

remembered that Zeus was not first in the field at Olympia. Pausanias, when discussing the origin of the Olympic games, states (5. 7. 10 Frazer): 'Some say that Zeus here wrestled with Cronus himself for the kingdom; others that he held the games in honour of his victory over Cronus.' This probably implies that the cult of Zeus at Olympia had driven out an older cult of Cronus (M. Mayer in Roscher *lex.* ii. 1508, Ridgeway *Early Age* i. 124). The memory of the older cult was kept up in the royal house; for Pindar (*Ol.* 3. 23) speaks of Κρονίου Πέλοπος, and the βασιλῆαι, the priestly kings of Olympia, sacrificed to Cronus at



FIG. 5.—SALMONEUS THE OLYMPIC VICTOR POSING AS ZEUS.

with down-turned hand deprecating his triumph, the lunatic's notion of wearing a greave on his exposed arm, the upward glance as of one who defies the *non imitabile fulmen*. There is only one difficulty in the interpretation. What is the meaning of the broken fetter on his left ankle? No legend of any imprisonment of Salmoneus is extant. Rather we may suspect that it is part of his disguise as a would-be god. It does not, however, so far as we know, suit his character as Zeus. But it must be

¹ Prof. E. Gardner's explanation of the painting as 'the madness of Athamas,' though supported with much learning and ingenuity, has failed to convince me.

the spring equinox on the top of Mount Cronium (Paus. 6. 20. 1). It would not be surprising, therefore, if a trait which properly belonged to Cronus had become attached to his successor Zeus. The broken fetter, if I am not mistaken, is just such a trait. Once a year, at the Saturnalia, the statue of Saturn at Rome slipped its fetter (Stat. *silv.* 1. 6. 4. *compede exsoluta*, Apollodor. *ap.* Macrob. 1. 8. 5, Arnob. 4. 24, Minuc. Fel. 22. 5); and Lucian says that poets and painters represented Cronus as *πεδῆρης* (*Cronosol.* 10). I do not doubt, therefore, that the Chicago *krater* has preserved an early version of the Salmoneus myth, a version in which at

least one feature is borrowed from the cult of Cronus, not Zeus.

The later account of Salmoneus says nothing about the Olympic victory (except for Virgil's allusion) or the broken fetter. It is given with most detail by Apollodorus, who says (1. 9. 7): 'Salmoneus at first dwelt in Thessaly, but subsequently came to Elis and founded a town there. He was a proud man and fain to place himself on a level with Zeus; for which impiety he was punished. For he declared that he was Zeus, and depriving Zeus of his sacrifices he bade men offer them to himself. He attached to a chariot leather thongs with bronze caldrons and trailing them after him said that he was thundering; he tossed blazing torches towards the sky and said that he was lightening. Zeus therefore struck him with a thunderbolt and destroyed the town founded by him and all its inhabitants.' The same mythographer (1. 7. 4.) tells us a somewhat similar tale of Alcyone, the sister of Salmoneus: 'Ceyx, son of Heosphorus, married Alcyone. They perished through their overweening pride. For Ceyx declared that his wife was Hera; Alcyone, that her husband was Zeus. Zeus then changed them into birds, making the one a halcyon, the other a ceyx.' Myths of this type may be taken to imply that, when the divine right of kings had faded into oblivion, posterity in general and alien immigrants in particular treated the explicit claim to be Zeus as sheer impiety calling for the vengeance of the genuine god. At a later date still it merely made the claimant ridiculous: Menecrates of Syracuse, court-physician to Philip of Macedon, prided himself on his life-giving powers to such an extent that he called himself *Μενεκράτης Ζεύς*, and went about wearing a purple robe and a golden crown, followed by a train of patients dressed up as Heracles, Hermes, Apollo, Asclepius, etc. (Athen. 289 A—290 A, Plut. *v. Ages.* 21, *Ael. var. hist.* 12. 51). Pindar's warning *μὴ μάρτετε Ζεὺς γενέσθαι* (*Isth.* 4. 14, cp. *Ol.* 5. 24) was not so far-fetched after all. The old Pelasgian view that the king was indeed divine has, as we have seen, to be pieced together from scattered indications in local usage and mythology. It has even left its traces here and there imprinted on the earliest extant Greek literature. The Homeric epithets *θεοειδής*, *θεοείκελος*, *ἀντίθεος*, *ισόθεος* have doubtless long since lost their full force; but the significant fact is that they should ever have become current as compliments and not rather have been avoided as

rank blasphemies. When Odysseus promises Achilles that the Messenians shall honour him *θεὸν ὥς* (*Il.* 9. 297) or Phoenix urges (*ibid.* 603) *ἔρχεο Ἴσον γὰρ σε θεῷ τίσουσιν Ἀχαιοί*, they are of course using the language of contemporary politeness; but the formulae, we may be sure, had a long history behind them, and the latter-day fiction had been the former-day fact.¹

This comes out clearly in the case of Agamemnon. His stock epithet *ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν* is suggestive of a divine title (cp. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 65 *divom pater atque hominum rex*, Hes. *theog.* 923 *θεῶν βασιλῆι καὶ ἀνδρῶν*) and in *Il.* 2. 478 he is described as *ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἱκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῃ*. But it is also known that there was an actual cult of Agamemnon as a Chthonian Zeus in Laconia (Tzetz. in Lyc. 1369, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 38, Eust. 168, 10 ff.) and Attica (schol. vet. Lyc. 1369 *Λαπέρσαι δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἔνθα Ἀγαμέμνωνος Διὸς ἱερὸν ἔστιν*). And there are grounds for suspecting that he was once the guardian of a sacred tree² or pole: for Paus. 9. 40. 11 f. states that the god whom the Chaeroneans honoured most was a wooden staff (*δόρυ*) regarded as the sceptre of Zeus, a sceptre possessed in turn by Hermes, Pelops, Atræus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon—'There is no public temple built for it, but the man who acts as priest keeps the sceptre in his house for the year; and sacrifices are offered to it daily, and a table is set beside it covered with all sorts of flesh and cakes' (Frazer's trans.). The priest who kept the sceptre of Zeus in his house for the year was the human Zeus, the priestly-king, the strong man for the time being. I am aware that such divinities as Zeus *Ἀγαμέμνων* or Zeus *Ἀμφιάραος* (at Oropus, Dicaearch. 1. 6, cp. Rohde *Psyche*² i. 125 n. 2) are usually explained by the assumption that a later Zeus-cult was grafted upon an earlier hero-cult. But it is at least equally easy to suppose that the hero was a Zeus all along, the local champion or king being as such the embodiment of the god. Indeed, much might be said in support of the view that the early kings were essentially divine

¹ Dr. Frazer (*Enc. Brit.*⁹ xxiii. 18 s.v. 'Taboo') regards the Homeric application of *δῖος*, *θεῖος*, *ἱερός* to men as 'a survival, or at least a reminiscence, of a system of taboo.'

² The plane tree at Delphi was said to have been planted by Agamemnon (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 13. 2, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 238), as was also a plane-tree at Caphyæ in Arcadia (*ibid.*). At Aulis the plane-tree, under which the Greeks sacrificed (*Il.* 2. 306 f.), was close to 'the bronze threshold of Agamemnon's hut' (Paus. 9. 19. 7): cp. the relief at Lansdowne House (Jahn *Bilderchron.* pl. 3, 1).

The influence of this conception over the whole history of the Greeks and Romans has not, I venture to think, been sufficiently recognised¹ and deserves to be carefully investigated. For example, the frequent apotheoses of the Graeco-Roman age are apparently due to a recrudescence of the primitive belief. The individual may live to a second childhood; and the nation may revert to the faith of its infancy. I much doubt whether the Athenians would ever have deified Demetrius, or the Samians Lysander, or the Romans Julius Caesar and Augustus, had there not been all along a dormant belief in the divinity of the victor. It is a lower stratum; but it crops up on both sides of the landscape.

We are recalled to Dodona by the circumstance that among the brethren of Salmoneus were Athamas, father of Helle, and Perieres, founder of the Dodonaean oracle (Apollodor. 1. 7. 3). In view of the myths above considered I would maintain, not only that the priestly-king of Dodona had to undergo a periodical duel or contest of personal strength, after which the head of the vanquished was nailed to the sacred oak or to the palace-wall (cp. Phorbas, Oenomaüs), but also that this contest gave rise to the local games, the *Náia* (cp. the origin of the games at Olympia), and that the victor becoming *ipso facto* the priestly-king was treated as an incarnate Zeus. I had already shown, on the one hand, that the victor in the *Náia* was rewarded with a prize-jar symbolising a perpetual lamp; on the other, that the priestly-king had in his Prytaneum a sacred hearth. It now appears that this was no mere coincidence. The victor was indeed identical with the priestly-king; and, if my suggestion on p. 185 was correct, he kept up the undying flame in order to feed the fires of a solar Zeus.

Having thus arrived at what I take to be the truth of the Dodonaean cult, I shall next examine various other centres of Zeus-worship round the Aegean basin in order to test the accuracy of my view.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be continued.)

HARRINGTON AND TOLMAN'S GREEK AND ROMAN MYTHOLOGY.

The Student's Series of Latin Classics. Greek and Roman Mythology, based on Steuding's 'Griechische und Römische Mythologie.' By K. P. HARRINGTON, Professor of Latin in the University of North Carolina, and H. C. TOLMAN, Professor of Greek in Vanderbilt University. American School and College Text Book Agency, 9 Arundel St., Strand. 2s. 3d.

IN many respects this compendium of mythology is a useful book. The facts are given with brevity and clearness, and a special feature are the lists of classical quotations which follow each division of the subject. The reader ought to be warned, however, that the subject is approached with certain theories ready made. Too much symmetry is assumed for the pantheon, and as a necessary result, it is taken for granted that the original functions of gods were special; but it is at least possible to maintain that the gods were largely of local origin, each having been originally supreme in his own district, and a local god-of-all-work. Allied with this is the statement that the worship of Pan 'spread from Arcadia' (p. 64), whereas it was found where the tribe which worshipped him set foot. The relation of ancestor worship to the worship of the gods is not made clear; or rather, since it is not possible to make that clear in all points, the problem is not recognised as one to be solved. Then again, it is assumed that the gods and their legends can be always or nearly always, explained by natural phenomena: even the lameness of Hephaistos (=forklightning) and the peplos of Athena (=mist). Some points of detail may be added. The earliest images of a female deity known in the Greek area are naked; the contrary statement as to Aphrodite (p. 81) should therefore be modified. 'Archon Basileus' was not a Greek title (p. 66), but Basileus only. *Agroteira* should be *Agrotera* (p. 44). Pythia need not be derived from *πυθ-έσθαι* (p. 41). Iuppiter is not for Diovis + pater (p. 18).

W. H. D. R.

¹ See the recent articles on 'Apotheosis' by Prof. L. C. Purser in Smith's *Dict. Ant.* 3 1890 and by Dr. F. F. Hiller v. Gaertringen in Pauly-Wissowa 1896; also that on 'Consecratio' by Wissowa *ibid.* 1900; E. Beurlier *de divinis honoribus quos acceperunt Alexander et successores eius*, Paris 1890; E. R. Bevan 'The Deification of Kings in the Greek Cities' in *The English Historical Review*, Oct. 1901.



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Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak. (Continued)

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mander. But *μίγμα* means strictly in A. a chemical combination, which is just what Anaximander's *ἔπειρον* was. Nor are Lütze's other arguments valid. (1) *ἐν* is a natural enough word to apply to Anaxagoras' *ὁμοῦ πάντα* when A. is bringing this into line with his own view of *ἕλη*. In *Phys.* 187^a 16 ff. Anaxagoras is quoted as having identified the One with matter, though he is distinguished in another respect from Anaximander. (2) Chronological order in references is by no means invariable. Cf. for instance: *De An.* I. 2.

(2) 1070^a 5-21. The text may be defended throughout except in 1.19. In 1.10 Alexi's explanation of *τῷ φαίνεσθαι* as 'from the (permissible, though inadequate) point of view of *φαντασία*' seems to be right. Cf. Z. 1029^a 16-19. In 1.19 *ἄλλα τούτων* would give a good sense ('there are forms of as many things as exist by nature, if there are really forms apart from these things themselves') but then *οἶον...τελευτάτα* is quite irrelevant, for as the things here named are mere matter, there could not possibly be forms in Aristotle's view of them. Hence Alexi thinks *οἶον...τελευτάτα* out of place. But it is better to change *ἄλλα* into *ἀλλ'* οὐ.—*πῦρ* is *ἕλη* to *σάρεξ*, *σάρεξ*

is *ἕλη* to *κεφαλῇ*, *κεφαλῇ* is *ἕλη* to *ζῶν*, which is *μάλιστ' οὐσία*. The same three stages are given in *De Part. An.* 646^a 12-24.

(3) 1071^a 4-17. L. 7 *πίπτει...1.11 ἔμφω* is parenthetical. For the ambiguous position of *στέρησις* cf. *Phys.* 201^b 33.—*ἄλλα ἄλλοι* is too simple to need explanation; *ἄλλως ἄλλοις* A. explains by *ἐν ἐνίοις μὲν...ἄλλως δ'*... This is the distinction between immanent *δύναμις* where the same thing exists first in an undeveloped, then in a developed state, and transeunt *δύναμις* (*ἡ κατὰ κίνησιν λεγόμενη* of θ 1). The *ἕλη* and the *εἶδος* and the *δύναμις* of a thing in the first sense; the proximate efficient cause (*ὁ πατήρ*) is so in the second sense, and so is the remote efficient cause, which is not even, like the proximate cause, *ὁμοειδές* with the product. In 1.12 *μή* and *οὐ* imply that the first clause states the concept of the class while the second states a matter of fact; the 2nd *ἔν*=*καὶ τούτων*. Things which have different matter, i.e. different individuals, must, strictly speaking, have different forms (cf. 1.28).

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ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER AND THE OAK.

(Continued from p. 278.)

In the present paper I propose to show that the cult of Zeus as it existed in the Oasis of Ammon and in several towns of ancient Crete, Caria, etc., was essentially the same as the cult of the Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona, i.e. that Zeus was at each of these cult-centres conceived as a triple divinity (sky-god + water-god + earth-god) dwelling in a sacred oak and served by a priestly-king, who was regarded as an incarnation of Zeus himself and whose duty it was to maintain the sun's heat by magical means.

The priestesses of Dodona are reported to have said that of two black doves (*πελειάδες*), which flew from Thebes in Egypt, one came to Epirus and founded the oracle of Dodona, the other to Libya and founded that of Zeus Ammon (Hdt. 2. 55). This implies that the cult of Zeus at the famous Ammonium in the Libyan desert was similar to that of Zeus at Dodona; and Herodotus definitely states (2. 57) that such was the case. The details known to us fully bear out the resemblance. Zeus had a female consort Hera 'Αμμωνία (Paus. 5. 15. 11 with Frazer's note, cp. the gem figured by Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus Gemmentaf. 4, 13 and Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* ii. 1 pl. 5, 3). His cultus-image was an old wooden statue

(Diod. 17. 50 *ξόανον*) or stump (Curt. 4. 7) 23 *umbilico maxime similis*) covered with emeralds¹ and other precious stones. Now a sacred stump of this sort almost presupposes a sacred tree. And, in point of fact, at the Ammonium there was or once had been an ancient oracular oak, a circumstance commonly neglected or discredited,² but distinctly stated by Clem. Al. *protr.* 11 Dind. = Euseb. *prep. ev.* 2. 3 Dind. *γεράνδρουν δὲ ψάμμοις ἐρήμiais τετιμημένον καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι μαντεῖον αὐτῇ δρὺν μεμαρασμένον μύθοις γεγηρακόσι καταλείψατε*. Sil. Ital. 3. 688 ff. says still more explicitly that at the Ammonium there was an ancient grove of oaks (*premunt nunc sidera quercus*) and one tree of especial sanctity in which the deity resided and before which altars were kept burning (*arbor numen habet coliturque tepentibus aris*). There were also sacred birds (Aristoph. *av.* 716, Strab. 814, Plut. *v. Alex.* 27, Curt. 4. 7. 15),³ the *κρήνη Ἥλιου*

¹ Emeralds, which shone with a peculiar radiance of their own (Hdt. 2. 44), were associated elsewhere with solar gods (Theophr. *de lap.* 24 f., Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 74 f.).

² On the ground that oaks would not be found so far south. But Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 32 expressly states that one species of evergreen oak (*parva aquifolia ilex=quercus coccifera* Linn.) grew in north Africa; and modern writers cite several others (*qu. ballota* Desf., *qu. suber* Linn., *qu. Mirbeckii* Durieu: *La Grande Encyclopédie* x. 1065 b, 1066 a, b).

³ These authorities mostly mention ravens. But the myth in Hdt. 2. 55 speaks of a dove, as does

whose waters were cold at noon but warm in the morning and evening (Hdt. 4. 181, *al.*), a perpetual lamp (Plut. *de def. orac.* 2), and 'the ancient palace of the kings' (Curt. 4. 7. 21). In short, the whole apparatus of the oracle bore a striking resemblance to that of Dodona. Strabo (329 *frag.* 1) adds that they both gave their responses in the same way, οὐ διὰ λόγων ἀλλὰ διὰ τινων συμβόλων. And tradition relates that in early days Zeus Ammon, like Zeus Naïos, had enjoined human sacrifice (Apollod. 2. 4. 3). It may well be, then, that the Ammonium too was a site of Pelasgian worship. There is every reason to believe that the Pelasgians had a footing, not only round the shores of the Aegean, but also along the north coast of Africa. These 'Graeco-Libyans' or 'Libyo-Greeks,' as Prof. Flinders Petrie called them in 1890 (*J.H.S.* xi. 271 ff.), may therefore have had a cult of their god in the Oasis, a cult naturally fused (*a*) with that of the Egyptian ram-god 'Amṇn (on whom see Pietschmann in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. 'Ammon') if the ram was traditionally associated with the Pelasgian Zeus (see p. 184 f.) and (*b*) with that of the Punic Ba'alchammān, 'dweller in the sacred post' (see E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex.* i. 2870, who figures the Baal-stele of Lilybaeum with its three sacred posts or stones), if the Pelasgian Zeus likewise had his sacred stump. Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* § 198 n. 7 was the first in modern times to question the Egyptian character of Zeus Ammon; and Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 273 ff. brings forward weighty arguments in favour of the view that he was a genuine Greek divinity. We need not, then, with Küster, emend or explain away Suid. Ἀμμων ὄνομα θεοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. Zeus of the Oasis was in truth the same god as Zeus of Dodona. The former, like the latter, was a sky-god or sun-god (Pind. *frag.* 36 Chr. Ἀμμων Ὀλύμπου δέσποτα, Mart. Cap. 192 Kopp. Ammon identified with Phoebus, Macrob. 1. 21. 19 Ammonem, quem deum solem occidentem Libyes existimant; cp. the κρήνη Ἥλιου, etc.), who controlled the rain and springs of water (Plut. *v. Alex.* 27 sends rain, Serv. *Aen.* 4. 196, *alib.* his ram finds water; cp. Ammon-masks as fountain-mouths in Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 277, 285, also Parthey *das Orakel u. die Oase des Ammon* p. 136), exercising at least one chthonian

that of Semiramis in Diod. 2. 20. Wild doves are so numerous in the Oasis nowadays that the Fountain of the Sun is known locally as the Fountain of Doves (Rohlf's *von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*² ii. 121).

prerogative, that of giving oracles. Whether the ancient kings of the Oasis mentioned by Q. Curtius were regarded as incarnations of Ammon we do not know. But it is highly probable. For, not only did the Euhemerists declare that Ammon was a Libyan king (Diod. 3. 68), but it was the regular thing in Egypt for the king to imagine that his father was the sun-god Ammon-Ra incarnate (Budge *Hist. of Egypt* vii. 145). M. A. Moret in his remarkable treatise *du caractère religieux de la royauté Pharaonique* Paris 1902 has proved this to demonstration (chap. 2) and has further shown that the Egyptian king habitually listened to 'des incantations magiques qui écartent de lui, dieu solaire, les ennemis du Soleil' (p. 314). In this connexion the various accounts of Alexander's visit to the Ammonium merit attention. According to Callisthenes (Strab. 814, cp. Plut. *v. Alex.* 27) and Aristobulus, 'whose account is generally admitted as correct' (Arr. *anab.* 3. 3), Alexander was guided thither by two ravens (cp. also Curt. 4. 7. 15, Diod. 17. 49). On his arrival he, and he alone, was allowed by the priest to enter the temple without changing his garments. Moreover, the priest, who ordinarily gave his responses by nods and tokens, told Alexander plainly that he was the son of Zeus (Callisth. *ap.* Strab. 814); and as such¹ he used afterwards to wear the purple cloak, the special shoes (περισχιδεῖς), and the horns of the god (Ephippus *ap.* Athen. 537 E). The conquering hero guided by the birds to the oracular seat and accepted by the priest as the son of Zeus is indeed a highly suggestive incident. Ptolemy I had a *temenos* at Dodona (Athen. 203 A); Philip of Macedon had 'a round building' near the Prytaneum at Olympia (Paus. 5. 20. 9); Alexander was deified at the Ammonium. Were they not each and all victorious embodiments of the god?

Dodon or Dodonos, from whom according to one version Dodona took its name, was the son of Zeus by Europa (Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη, schol. *Il.* 16. 233 cod. V). Zeus had consorted with Europa by a fountain at Gortyn under an evergreen plane (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 9. 5, Varr. *de re rust.* 1. 7. 6, Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 11), which on account of its remarkable foliage Theophrastus compared with an oak growing at Sybaris (Theophr. *loc. cit.*, Varr. *loc. cit.*). The

¹ Apelles painted Alexander holding a thunderbolt (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 92), i.e. with the attribute of Zeus himself: cp. the gem figured and discussed by Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* p. 47, pl. 4, 9.

comparison suggests that the plane, the finest of all Cretan trees (Hoeck *Kreta* i. 40), did duty for an oak; and the same may be true of the various plane-trees connected with Zeus *Ἀγαμέμνων* (p. 277 n. 2). But, apart from this possibility, more certain traces of the oak-cult at Gortyn survive in a well-known series of silver didrachms, of



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

which two samples are here given (fig. 1 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Crete p. 38, pl. 9, 5; fig. 2 = *Bunbury Cat.* no. 1179, now in Brit. Mus.). Mr. J. N. Svoronos in the *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 1894, p. 113 ff. has shown that the usual description of these types as Europa in the plane-tree is quite mistaken. The tree is not a plane at all, but an oak. He cites the opinion not only of numismatists such as Prof. P. Gardner (*Types of Gk. Coins* p. 166) and Messrs. Imhoof-Keller (*Tier- und Pflanzenbilder* p. 63, 40), but also of Mr. Spyridion Miliarakis, Professor of Botany at Athens, who states that 'les feuilles des arbres . . . qui sont les mieux représentées de toutes, ainsi que tout le reste, laissent reconnaître facilement à toute personne qui connaît les arbres de la Grèce, que ce n'est pas un platane, mais bien un chêne (δρῦς).' Mr. Svoronos argues with much probability that the coins in question illustrate a myth preserved by Callim. *h. Dian.* 189 ff. Britomartis, a Gortynian nymph in the train of Artemis, was loved by Minos and, being pursued by her lover, took refuge *λασίζων ὑπὸ δρυσι*.¹ When after a nine months' chase he was about to seize her, she plunged from a height into the sea; and, being caught by the nets of the fishermen, was thenceforward called Dictyna, while the height was named Mt. Dicte. The latter part of this tale is aetiologial and late. Mr. Svoronos thinks that the earlier version of it can be restored from the coin-types: Minos, taking upon him the form of an eagle, wooed and won

his oak-nymph in a Cretan oak. If it be objected that this metamorphosis of Minos is nowhere mentioned, Mr. Svoronos bids us remember that Minos was a hypostasis of the Cretan Zeus and as such might well adopt this animal disguise. He supports his contention by citing the singular variant according to which Ganymedes was carried off, not by Zeus transformed into an eagle,² but by Minos (Echemenes *Κρητικά ap. Athen.* 601 E). From Crete, he adds, the cult of Britomartis made its way to Aegina (Anton. Lib. 40, Paus. 2. 30. 3); and the Aeginetans averred that to win their eponymous nymph Zeus had taken the same form, that of an eagle (Roscher *Lex.* i. 148, 40 f.). Here Mr. Svoronos might have strengthened his case by noting that in Aegina too Zeus was connected with an oak. *Ov. met.* 7. 622 relates how the island was peopled in answer to the prayer of Aeacus, son of Aegina, who stood beneath an oak that was sacred to Jupiter and had sprung 'de semine Dodonaeo.' Quite possibly *Ἀἴγινα* means 'Oak-island' and is a cognate of *αἰγίλωψ*, *αἰγίς*, *Eiche*, oak. However that may be, it was no hap-hazard choice that made Aeacus the colleague of Minos.

The two coins that I have figured correspond to the first and last chapters of the Gortyn myth. The first shows the oak-nymph seated in maidenly modesty on her tree with no hint of Zeus-Minos or his designs. The second shows her later on in a very different guise; she is here the divine queen: like Hera at Argos she wears a crown and holds a sceptre surmounted by a bird; with her left hand she raises her *peplos* after the fashion of a bride, while with her right she caresses the eagle. The tree-trunk has become a veritable throne; and its bare surface is everywhere bursting into bud, for the tree-nymph has been fertilised indeed by her royal and divine consort. That consort was probably credited with solar powers; for one coin of Gortyn has the whole design of Britomartis and her eagle in the tree surrounded by a circle of rays (*Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894, pl. 4, 14).³

Didrachms of Tisyros also bear the type of Britomartis seated in her oak (*ib.* pl. 4, 3). But it is to Cnossus, the home of Minos, that we naturally turn for the most definite

² A sarcophagus-relief in the Vatican (Wernicke *antike Denkm.* ii. 1. pl. 8, 19) and a cameo of the Marlborough collection (Furtwängler *Steinschneidekunst* pl. 65, 52) show Ganymedes feeding the eagle in front of an oak with acorns.

³ Cp. the solar rays round the eagle that is carrying off Thalia on a red-figured vase of the Hamilton collection (Tischbein i. pl. 24).

¹ The oak-woods of Crete, now fast disappearing (Hoeck *Kreta*, i. 39), are mentioned by Dionys. *orb. descr.* 503.

evidence of the relation between the king and the oak. And here we are not disappointed. Unless I am much mistaken, the throne of Minos discovered by Mr. A. Evans is simply a modified tree-trunk, an oak-stump conventionalised into a stone seat. Nothing short of this will account for its unique design. The back of the throne, as Mr. H. R. Hall observed (*The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 294), is shaped like an oak-leaf; the quasi-Gothic arch formed by its legs resembles the hollow seen on the oak-trunk of several Gortyn coins (e.g. *Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894, pl. 4, 1-3, 7); and the crockets on the arch exactly tally with the buds visible on some coins of the same series (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Crete, pl. 9, 6).

Mr. Svoronos spoke of Zeus-Minos. So does Mr. A. Evans (*J.H.S.* xxi. 181), regarding this equivocal personage as 'a solar deity.' But the precise connexion between Zeus and Minos is a little difficult to come at. Helbig in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 3001, 54 ff. sums up as follows: 'The intimacy subsisting between Zeus and Minos, whom the earliest legends represent as his son and confidant, the importance attached . . . to the number nine in Minos' career . . . , the myths associated with him, viz. those of the Minotaur, Pasiphae, and Talos, all make it highly probable that in early days the Cretan Zeus, sky-god and sun-god, was confused with the human king. A complete identification of the two, though it has been repeatedly asserted by recent investigators, seems incompatible with the evidence supplied by tradition.' May not the solution of this problem be found in the conception of a priestly-king, who was regarded as the embodiment of a solar Zeus? This would explain a small point shrewdly observed by Winckelmann (*Gesch. d. Kunst d. Altert.*⁴ p. 294): 'Minos auf Münzen von Gnosus würde ohne einen stolzen, königlichen Blick einem Iuppiter voll Huld und Gnade ähnlich sehen.' It would account for the bald Roman belief that Jupiter was 'a Cretan king' (Firm. Mat. 6. 1 and 16. 1), and justify the subtler Greek tradition that there were two Zeuses, of whom one was Zeus 'Ολύμπιος, the other a king of Crete (Diod. 3. 61). It would also suit the mythical relations of Minos to Britomartis and to Ganymedes. Other arguments in support of it are adduced below: for the moment these will serve.

The Cretan Zeus, of whom Minos appears to have been the human representative, was (1) a sky-god. His solar character is shown

by his cult-title Ταλαιός or Ταλλαῖος (Hesych. s.v. Ταλαιός, *C.I.G.* 2554) taken in connexion with the Hesychian gloss ταλῶς· ὁ ἥλιος. He was likewise a god of the starry sky; for at Gortyn he bore the name Ἀστέριος (Cedren. i. 217 Bonn., Tzetz. *antehom.* 100 f., *chil.* 1. 473). Again, he seems to have been a rain-god; for he was identified with Marnas, the chief divinity of Gaza Minoa (e.g. by Steph. Byz. s.v. Γάζα, who derives Μινῶα from Μίνως), and Marcus Diaconus (*v. Porph.* p. 180 Haupt) speaks of Marnas as κύριον τῶν ὀμβρῶν.¹ The double axe, which occurs so often on the monuments of Cnossus, etc., probably belonged to him in his capacity of a thunder-god: votive double axes are marked with diagonals and zig-zags (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900-1901, vii. 53, fig. 15), which perhaps denote lightning. (2) Another symbol frequently found on the stones of Minoan palaces is the trident. One block at Cnossus is marked with both the double axe and the trident. This combination, when it occurs on Carian coins, betokens the cult of Zenoposeidon. In Crete too Zeus seems to have been one with Poseidon. The Zeus who in bull-form carried off Europa from Sidon to Gortyn was doubtless the θαλάσσιος Ζεὺς worshipped at Sidon (Hesych. s.v.). Pasiphae's bull is described sometimes as the bull of Poseidon, sometimes as the bull of Zeus (Roscher *Lex.* iii. 1667, 59 ff.). Minos, though usually the son of Zeus, is spoken of by Lyc. 431 as the son of Erechtheus, a name better known as belonging to Poseidon (Hesych. s.v. Ἐρεχθεύς). (3) Lastly, the constant connexion of the Cretan Zeus with the Dictaeon and Idaean Caves is suggestive rather of an earth-god; and in a fragment of Euripides' *Κρήτες* Zeus is actually called Hades—Ζεὺς εἶτ' Ἀΐδης | ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις κ.τ.λ. (*frag.* 904 Dind.). Thus the Cretan Zeus united in his person the attributes of sky-god, sea-god, and earth-god. He was at once Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades.

In the Idaean Cave was found a lentoid gem of rock-crystal, which represents a horned altar placed in front of three trees, while a female votary blows a triton-shell before it. Mr. A. Evans in his invaluable essay on the 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult' rightly regards this scene as 'the worship of a trinity of sacred trees,' and cites other examples of tree-trinities venerated in Greece and elsewhere, e.g. 'a triple

¹ The Cretan Zeus Βιδάρας (*C.I.A.* ii. 549) was identified with Zeus Ἰτέριος by Voretzsch (*Hermes* iv. 267), who derived the epithet from a Cretan βιδῶρ=βιδῶρ, cp. the Phrygian βέδν (Clem. Al. *strom.* 5 p. 673).

group of trees, with their trunks closely drawn together' on a gold ring from Mycenae (*J.H.S.* xxi. 141 ff. figs. 25, 56). I would suggest that the provenience of the gem from the Idaean Cave points to the cult being that of the Cretan Zeus, and that the three trees behind the altar are those in which his triple godhead resided. Even as late as Theophrastus' time there grew in the mouth of the Idaean Cave a remarkable poplar that was thought to bear fruit (*Theophr. hist. plant.* 3. 3. 4, cp. *ib.* 2. 2. 10, [*Aristot.*] *mir. ausc.* 69 Westerm.), and we have repeatedly seen the *αἰεπος* serving as a substitute for a sacred oak (p. 273).

base and each supporting the figure of a dove (fig. 3 reproduced by permission from *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901-1902 viii. 29 fig. 14). 'The trinity of baetylic columns,' says Mr. Evans, 'recalls the fact that in the case of the gold shrines of Mycenae, and again in the Temple Fresco from the Palace of Knossos, we find a triple group of pillar cells.' Mr. Evans takes the three-fold shrines of Cnossus and Mycenae to be those of a dove goddess, though he is careful to note that 'the dove also appears as the "Messenger" of Zeus' (*ib.* p. 29 n. 3). In view of the fact that doves were believed to have fed Zeus in a Cretan cave (*Athen.* 491



FIG. 3.

On the floor-level of the original palace at Cnossus Mr. Evans discovered 'the remains of a miniature Sanctuary including a Pillar Shrine with sacred doves, altars with their ritual horns, a kind of portable seat for a divinity, and other accessories,' e.g. three small triton-shells like the one figured on the gem from the Idaean Cave. The pillar shrine was clearly the object of chief importance in this most interesting deposit. It consisted of a group of three terra-cotta pillars standing on a common

base and that the gem representing a trinity of trees was found in the Idaean Cave, the very cradle of Zeus, I would—with all deference to Mr. Evans' opinion—rather conjecture that the trinity of pillars, whether Cnossian or Mycenaean, was the conventionalised but still aniconic form of a triple tree-Zeus. In favour of this conjecture is the close analogy subsisting between the Zeus-cult of Dodona and the Zeus-cult of Crete. Zeus at Dodona was sky-god, water-god, and earth-god (p. 178 f.).

So, as I have just shown, was Zeus in Crete. Zeus at Dodona had a sacred oak. So had Zeus-Minos in Crete. About the Dodonaean oak were ranged three doves, as we see from a bronze coin of Epirus (fig. 4 redrawn



FIG. 4.

from Imhoof-Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder*, pl. 5, 28). When, therefore, we find three doves perched upon a triad of pillars in the palace of Zeus-Minos himself, are we not right in regarding them as the sacred birds of a triple tree-Zeus?¹

This analogy between the Zeus-cults of Dodona and Cnossus is strikingly confirmed by another of Mr. Evans' brilliant discoveries. He found a later chamber of the same palace actually arranged as a shrine with its cultus-objects still in position (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901-1902, viii. 97, fig. 55). Behind a low tripod-stand for offerings stood the horned sockets of two double axes. Round these sockets were grouped sundry terra-cotta figurines, including one of a male votary holding a dove and another of a goddess with a dove on her head. Against one of the sockets was resting a small double axe of steatite with duplicated blades. Mr. Evans justly infers 'a dual cult' (*ib.* p. 101), viz. that of a goddess as well as a god, who wielded the symbolic weapon; and he publishes a Cnossian gem on which a goddess bearing a double axe is engraved (*ib.* p. 102).² 'The accumulating proofs,' he says, 'supplied by signets, gems, and seal impressions of the cult of a divine pair in Minōan Knossos, not infrequently associated with lions, make it probable that the cult of the Cretan Zeus was here linked with that of Rhea, the ruins of whose temple with its sacred Cypress Grove were pointed out at Knossos in later days (Diod.

5. 65).' In other words, there was at Cnossus, as at Dodona, the joint cult of a sky-god and an earth-goddess. And, if we may identify the goddess with a dove on her head as Aphrodite (cp. the gold plaques from Mycenae in Perrot-Chipiez *op. cit.* p. 652, figs. 293 f.), we obtain one more point of contact; for Aphrodite also was worshipped in the precinct at Dodona. To complete the parallel, I must show that not only Zeus-Minos but also Rhea and Aphrodite had sacred oaks.

If Zeus was lord of sky and sea and earth, it must be admitted that Rhea made him a suitable partner: ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Ῥέας καὶ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα καὶ οὐρανὸς συνέχεται (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1098). The passage on which the scholiast is commenting describes how the Argonauts, in order to lay a storm, went up Mt. Dindymon and sacrificed to Rhea. They cut down an old stump of a vine, which Apollonius calls a γεράνδρουν (1. 1118), and Argus of Dodonaean fame shaped it to serve as the image of the goddess. They next covered it with boughs of oak (1121), and when they had wreathed themselves with oak leaves (1123 f.) proceeded to offer sacrifice. The scholiast's remark on 1124 is almost superfluous: 'They wore a wreath of oak leaves because the tree is sacred to Rhea. It is sacred to Rhea, as Apollodorus περὶ θεῶν bk. iii. states, because it is useful for building purposes and for food.' Autonomous coins of Smyrna show the head of the same Great Mother surrounded by an oak-wreath (fig. 5 = *Brit.*



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins, Ionia pl. 25, 10) or the name of the eponymous magistrate similarly placed (fig. 6 = *ib.* pl. 25, 6). Aphrodite too had her sacred oaks, as is evident not only from the cult of Aphrodite Ἀσκραία (*infra*) but also from the 'oak-grove of Aphrodite' near Psophis in Arcadia (Paus. 8. 25. 1).

Again, the double axe exalted in the Cnossian shrine can be paralleled from

¹ The gold models of a temple-façade from Mycenae show two doves as acroteria on the triple shrine (Perrot-Chipiez *La Grèce primitive* p. 337 fig. 111) and Soph. *Trach.* 172 speaks of 'the two doves at Dodona'; but most authors give the number of the latter as three (Jebb on Soph. *Trach.* p. 204).

² Mr. Rouse (*J.H.S.* xxi. 270) cites a female figure holding a double axe in either hand from a metal belt found in Crete (Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1900 p. 37).

Dodona. 'Yonder,' says Philostratus in his description of the Dodonaean precinct (Philostr. maj. *im.* 2. 33. 1), 'is placed the axe (πέλεκυς), which was left by Hellus the woodcutter, from whom the Helli of Dodona trace their descent.' And a miniature double axe of bronze was found at Dodona by Carapanos (*Dodone* pl. 54). We need not hesitate, therefore, to treat the Cnossian finds as evidence of the same cult of a Pelasgian tree-Zeus, who was supreme over sky and sea and earth.

Minos his vice-gerent had similar powers. At any moment he could produce a thunder-storm by an appeal to Zeus (Bacch. 17. 50 ff., Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 5). He married Pasiphae, a daughter of Helios, and kept as his sentinel Talos the sun. When the Cretans disputed his right to reign over them, he prayed to Poseidon, who sent him a bull from the sea by way of proof (Apollod. 3. 1. 3, *alib.*). And the story of his flinging his ring into the sea (Bacch. 17. 60 ff., Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 5, Paus. 1. 17. 3) is very possibly based upon the old custom of sea-marriage common to Pelasgian kings (cp. Polycrates and the Doges of Venice). Finally, after death Minos became a judge in the Underworld.

Tzetzes, to whom we owe so much out-of-the-way mythological lore, has preserved a yet more explicit tradition concerning Minos, which has not attracted the attention that it deserves. 'Minos the Cretan,' he says (*chil.* 1. 473 f.), 'was the son of Zeus Ἀστέριος. *In by-gone days it was customary to call all kings Zeuses* (τοὺς βασιλεῖς δ' ἀνάθε Δίας¹ ἐκάλουν πάντας).' This statement is repeated in Tzetz. *antehom.* 100 ff., where we read that Menelaüs 'sailed to Crete to sacrifice to his forefather Zeus Ἀστέριος, king of the Cretans. *For in early times men called all kings Zeuses* (οἱ πρὶν γὰρ τε Δίας πάντας κάλειον βασιλῆας).' In both passages Tzetzes, to allay incredulity, has an astronomical explanation ready: kings receive their sceptre from 'the star of Jupiter.'² But, whatever may be thought of his explanation, the statement that early kings were actually dubbed Zeus is credible enough. Salmeoneus king of Elis ἔλεγε . . . ἑαυτὸν εἶναι Δία (Apollod. 1. 9. 7). Ceyx king of Trachys declared that his wife was Hera, ἥ δὲ τὸν ἀνδρα Δία (*ib.* 1. 7. 4).

Agamemnon king of Mycenae is described by Lyc. 1369 f. as Ζηνὶ τῷ Λαπερσίῳ | δμῶνυμος Ζεὺς: the same author says of him Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις αἰμύλοις κληθήσεται (1124), and even uses his name convertibly with that of Zeus when he speaks of Priam as killed ἀμφὶ τύμβῳ τὰγαμέμνονος (335, cp. Hesych. ἀγαμέμνονα· τὸν αἰθέρα Μητροδώρος εἶπεν ἀλληγορικῶς). Amphiaraius at Oropus and Trophonius at Lebadea were called Zeus (reff. in Rohde *Psyche*² i. 125 nn. 1, 2). A similar custom may have given rise to the tale that Zeus visited the wife of Amphitryon ἐοικῶς Ἀμφιτρώνι (schol. *Od.* 11. 266, cp. Pind. *Nem.* 10. 15, *mythogr. Gr.* p. 370, 4 Westerm., Isocr. 10. 59). I accept therefore as true Tzetzes' assertion that Minos was the son of a king who posed as Zeus Ἀστέριος. Hence the tradition that Ἀστέριος (Diod. 4. 60, schol. vet. Lyc. 1301) or Ἀστερίων (Hes. *frag.* 52 Kinkel, *etym. mag.* 588. 24 f.) was a Cretan king, who received Europa from the hands of Zeus and became by her the father of Minos.

That the kings of Minos' line were regarded as incarnations of Zeus appears also from the nature of their regalia. In the south wing of the palace at Cnossus Mr. Evans found a bas-relief representing portions 'of a male head wearing a crown, the upper part of which consisted of a row of sloping *fleurs-de-lys* with a taller upright one in the centre. Of the others all had a forward slant except the hindmost, which was sloped in the other direction. The colours of the diadem itself and its offshoots were evidently intended to represent inlaid metal-work. The *fleur-de-lys* ornament recurred in the shape of a collar formed of links of this shape round the neck of a male torso found near the relief of the crown' (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900-1901, vii. 15). Mr. Evans from the analogy of other processional frescoes concludes 'that in this crowned head we see before us a Mycenaean king' (*ib.*). Now at Olympia (Paus. 5. 22. 5 Frazer) there was 'an image of Zeus turned towards the rising sun, holding an eagle in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other; and on his head he wore a wreath of lilies.' Lily flowers were also wrought by Pheidias on the golden robe of his great chryselephantine Zeus (Paus. 5. 11. 1). It would seem, then, that the king at Cnossus wore the same crown as Zeus at Olympia: the fact speaks for itself.³ Further, it is

¹ This example of the plural Δίες should be added to the two so far recorded, viz. Eust. 1384, 47 f., Plut. *mor.* 425 E, F.

² Cp. Tzetz. *chil.* 9. 453 f. Δία δ' ἐνταῦθα νόησιν τινα τῶν βασιλέων, | τοὺς πρὶν γὰρ πάντας βασιλεῖς Δίας οἱ πρὶν ἐκάλουν and the context.

³ It was probably as the flower of Zeus that the lily was associated with the double axe. A *larnax* found by Mr. J. H. Marshall at Palaikastro is decorated with a lily plant, of whose flowers two are

possible that this species of lily was named *ἀστερίων*. For Clement of Alexandria, when discussing the garlands appropriate to particular deities, remarks *κρίνω δὲ ἡδεσθαι τὴν Ἥραν φασίν* (*paed.* 2. 8. 72, cp. *georon.* 11. 19); and Pausanias, speaking of the river Asterion near the Argive Heraeum, says—‘On its banks grows a plant which they also name *ἀστερίων*: they offer the plant to Hera, and twine its leaves into wreaths for her’ (2. 17. 2 Frazer).

But who or what was the Minotaur? He too was called *Ἀστέριος* (Apollod. 3. 1. 4) or *Ἀστέριων* (Paus. 2. 31. 1): on an amphora from Nola his body is bespangled with stars¹ (Gerhard *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, pl. 160); and on coins of Cnossus he is over-arched with a row of dots or stars (Baumeister *Denkm.* p. 936, fig. 1011). Was he too, then, a Cretan king posing as a sky-god? The suggestion seems a rash one; but there is evidence to be quoted in its favour. A



FIG. 7.

seal-impression found by Mr. Evans in the palace at Cnossus shows the Minotaur seated on a cross-legged chair beneath a palm-tree (fig. 7 by permission from *Ann. Brit. Sch.*

naturalistic, but the third takes the form of a double axe mounted on an elaborate base (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901–1902 viii. pl. 18 a). On the great gold signet from Mycenae a large double axe stands in intimate relation to three female figures, each of whom wears a lily on her head (*J.H.S.* xxi. 108 Fig. 4).

A unique silver coin of Cnossus shows *ΜΙΝΩΣ* seated on a high-backed throne holding a sceptre. Friedländer (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* vi. 232 f.) says of him: ‘Er ist seinem Vater ähnlich dargestellt. . . Sein Mantel ist auf unserer Münze punktiert.’ Have we not here Minos conceived as Zeus *Ἀστέριος* with a starry robe?

Ath. 1900–1901, vii. 18 fig. 7a). This cross-legged chair should be compared with the ‘folding-chair made by Daedalus’ that was kept along with the bronze palm-tree of Callimachus in the old palace of Erechtheus on the Athenian Acropolis² (Paus. 1. 27. 1); also with the well-known form of the curule chair, on which sat the early kings of Rome. The comparison makes it almost certain that the Minotaur is here enthroned as king; and that, in the palace of Minos. We are thus driven towards the conclusion that Minos and the Minotaur are but different forms of the same personage. As human king he was Minos: as Zeus incarnate he was the Minotaur.

We have yet to account for his semi-bovine form. There are several indications that in Crete the sun was conceived as a bull. Talos, whom Hesychius equates with the sun, was sometimes described as ‘a bull’ (Apollod. 1. 9. 26). The Cretans called the sun *ἄδιούνιος ταῦρος*, because he had led a band of colonists to their destination under the guise of a bull (Bekk. *anecd. Gr.* 344, 10 ff.). The sun kept his cattle at Gortyn (Serv. *eccl.* 6. 60); and Virgil represents Pasiphae’s bull as lying beneath an evergreen oak or following the Gortynian cows (Verg. *eccl.* 6. 53 ff.). It may be conjectured, therefore, that the ritual costume of Minos as the sun-king was a bull-mask, and that this gave rise to the legend of the bull-headed Minotaur.³

These considerations will help us to a better understanding of that perpetual puzzle, the Labyrinth. If, as M. Mayer first suggested (*Jahrb. d. K. D. Arch. Inst.*, 1892, vii. 191), the name is to be connected with *λάβρος*, ‘a double axe,’ the Labyrinth was probably the abode of a sky-power of some sort (*supra*, p. 406). Now the earliest form of the Labyrinth on coins of Cnossus is the *swastika* or a derivative of the *swastika* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Crete pl. 4, 7–13); and the Labyrinth pattern found by Mr. Evans in a corridor of the ‘Hall of Double Axes’ at Cnossus is again a simple derivative of the *swastika* (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901–1902 viii. 104). But it is quite

² This is but one of a whole series of remarkable agreements between the palace of Minos and the palace of Erechtheus. These agreements, as I shall hope to prove, affect both the plan of the buildings concerned and the cults carried on in them.

³ Dr. Frazer points out to me that Egyptian kings used to put on their heads masks of lions, bulls, and serpents (Diod. 1. 62). Diodorus thinks that this custom was not without influence on Greek mythology. Later rationalism came within an inch of the truth: Cedren. i. 217 Bonn. *μετὰ Μίνωα Μινώταυρος δὲ Πασιφάης καὶ Ταύρου βασιλεύει.*

certain that the *swastika* was originally 'a symbolic representation of the sun, or of a solar god' (Goblet d'Alviella *The Migration of Symbols*, p. 50, cp. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois*, p. 140 ff., Haddon *Evolution in Art*, p. 282 ff.). The Labyrinth, therefore, symbolised the solar character of its occupant, the Minotaur. This agrees with the statement of Diod. 1. 61, 97 and Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 85 that the Cretan Labyrinth was a copy of the Egyptian Labyrinth near Lake Moeris; for Plin. *ib.* 84 says of the latter: 'Most authorities assert that it was built in honour of the Sun, and this is the common view.'

A further reason for identifying Minos with the Minotaur is this. Minos as priestly-king had a reign of limited duration: *ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς* (*Od.* 19. 179), 'he was king for a period of nine years,' and at the expiration of every such period he repaired to the Idaean Cave for a personal interview with Zeus (Plat. *Min.* 319 c, *legg.* 624 B, Strab. 476, 762, Eust. 1861, 25 ff., Val. Max. 1. 2. ext. 1). It was also at intervals of nine years that the Minotaur received his tale of human victims (Plut. *v. Thes.* 15, Diod. 4. 61, Ov. *met.* 8. 171, cp. Hoeck *Kreta*, ii. 93 f.). This probably implies that the divine powers of the sun-king needed renewal at the end of every *annus magnus* (Censorin. *de die nat.* 18, who states that the Pythian games originally took place every ninth year, as do Dem. Phal. *ap. schol.* *Od.* 3. 267, *schol. Pind. Pyth.* p. 298 Boeckh). Dr. Frazer has proved (*Golden Bough*² ii. 1 ff.) that divine kings all the world over are put to death at the close of a set period to prevent the decay of their supernatural powers. Among the traces of this primitive custom that survived in Greece he quotes (*ib.* 18) the fact that the Spartan kings were liable to deposition *δι' ἐτῶν ἐννέα* (Plut. *v. Agis* 11), and compares with it the tradition of Minos' nine-year rule. The ninth year, then, was a critical time for the Cretan sun-king, whether we call him Minos or the Minotaur. At such a crisis it would be incumbent upon him to defend his title against all comers; and it was on the occasion of the third recurring period that Theseus slew the Minotaur (Plut. *v. Thes.* 15, 17).

I have shown that at Olympia (p. 273 ff.) and probably at Dodona (p. 278) the challenge of the priestly-king gave rise to a regular athletic contest. The same thing happened at Cnossus. A hint of it is perhaps conveyed by two Hesychian glosses, *Ταλαιός*: *ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ* and *Ταλαιδότης*: *ἀγὼν γυμνικός*.

But the clearest evidence is a statement of Philochorus (*ap. Plut. v. Thes.* 16, 19) that after the death of Androgeos Minos instituted an athletic contest, the prize awarded being the victims sent from Athens; that at first the successful competitor was Minos' chief general Taurus, a man of cruel temper, who treated the Athenian children harshly and was suspected of undue familiarity with Pasiphae; that, when the king again arrayed the lists, Taurus was expected to win as usual, but was to the delight of all overthrown by Theseus. It needs no Daniel to see that this is a rationalist's account of an *ἐνναετηρικός ἀγὼν* in which Minos himself under the guise of Taurus defended his title to the throne.

Having vanquished the Minotaur, Theseus succeeded to the sun-king's rights; and it is of interest to observe how he acquitted himself. 'Theseus,' says Plutarch (*v. Thes.* 21 Clough), 'in his return from Crete, put in at Delos, and having sacrificed to the god of the island, dedicated to the temple the image of Venus which Ariadne had given him, and danced with the young Athenians a dance that, in memory of him, they say is still preserved among the inhabitants of Delos, consisting in certain measured turnings and returnings, imitative of the windings and twistings of the labyrinth. And this dance, as Dicaearchus writes, is called among the Delians, the Crane. This he danced round the Cera-tonian Altar, so-called from its consisting of horns taken from the left side of the head. They say also that he instituted games in Delos, where he was the first that began the custom of giving a palm to the victors.' Plutarch's description of Theseus dancing the labyrinth-dance round the horned altar of the sun-god suggests that a ritual analogous to that of the Minotaur had once existed in Delos, an island which like Crete had borne the name Asteria (Hesych. *s. v.* Ἀστερίη, *alib.*).

If, as I have tried to prove, Minos was a human king regarded as Zeus incarnate, the famous grave of Zeus on Mt. Jukta becomes intelligible: it was simply the grave of Minos. The *schol. Call. h. Iov.* 8 declares that the original inscription on it was *Μίνωος τοῦ Διὸς τάφος* and that the obliteration of the word *Μίνωος* led to the popular misconception. This is of course absurd; but the tradition that it was the grave of a man-god may well have lingered on and even have occasioned the speculation of Euhemerus, who asserted that

Zeus in particular had been a former king of Crete (Hoeck *Kreta* iii. 331 ff.). Pythagoras, when he visited Crete, after purification τῇ κεραυνίᾳ λίθῳ and sacrifice and inspection of the throne yearly prepared for Zeus, inscribed on the tomb an epitaph beginning—

ὅδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κυκλήσκουσιν (Porph. v. *Pyth.* 17). That this Ζᾶν was indeed none other than a priestly-king appears from an important but much misunderstood passage in Macrobius: 'The ancients used to regard as owed to the gods the lives of consecrated men, whom the Greeks call *Zanes*' (*Sat.* 3. 7. 6 *animas vero sacrorum hominum, quos zanas*¹ Graeci vocant, dis debitas aestimabant). Was not Minos precisely such a *Zan*, enjoying all the privileges of the Cnossian kingship for a nine years' lease, but holding his life as ultimately forfeit to Zeus?

Before leaving the subject I must notice a curious variant of the inscription on the tomb of Zeus. Suid. s.v. Πῆκος records it as—

ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς.

Creuzer *Symbolik*³ iv. 364 cites from Nicetas *epithet. deor.* (*Meletem.* i. 18) a description of Jupiter as ἥπιος πίκος and rightly brings him into connexion with the Italian Picus, the Wood-pecker. The common Greek name for this bird was δρυκολάπτης, because it hollowed out its nest in oak-trees (Ael. *hist. an.* 1. 45) and was even credited with being able to fell them (Plut. *qu. Rom.* 21). It was also known as πελεκᾶς because of its axe-like beak, and is still called πελεκάνος (D'Arcy Thompson *Gk. Birds* s.v.). A bird thus connected with the oak and the axe may well have figured in the Cnossian legend of Zeus-Minos, whose metamorphosis into an eagle at Gortyn we have already considered.²

That Minos as oak-king maintained a perpetual fire for the purpose of replenish-

¹ So the MSS. Caelius Rhodiginus *antiq. lect.* xii. 11 read ζῶνας=ξῶνας! Liebrecht ej. ζωγάνας (*Philologus* xxii. 710). Bernays kept *zanas*, but thought that Macrobius had misconceived the meaning of the *Zanes* at Olympia (*Hermes* 1875 ix. 127 f.).

² The cultus-images of the Italian Picus furnish a close parallel to those of the Cnossian deities found by Mr. Evans. 'He was represented,' says Mr. Marindin (*Class. Dict.* p. 712), 'in a rude and primitive manner as a wooden pillar with a woodpecker on the top of it, but afterwards as a young man with a woodpecker on his head.' See Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 14, who compares the woodpecker on his wooden pillar at Tiora with the dove on the oak at Dodona, and also Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 41.

ing the sun's heat, we are not told. But it is probable. For, on the one hand, a perpetual fire was kept up in the old palace at Cnossus: the oath of the Drerians and Cnossians (Cauer *del.*² 121, *Rhein. Mus.* 1856 x. 393 ff.) began ὁμνῶ τὰν Ἑστίαν τὰν ἐμ πρυτανείῳ καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ἀγοραῖον καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ταλλαῖον κ.τ.λ. cp. Ennius p. 174 Vahl., who states that Vesta had founded Cnossus. And, on the other hand, Talos (=Zeus Ταλλαῖος) the sun renewed his heat by springing into a fire (Semonid. *ap.* Suid. s.v. Σαρδάμιος γέλως, Eust. 1893, 7).

The story that Daedalus contrived the union of Pasiphae with the divine bull by means of a hollow wooden cow (Apollod. 3. 1. 4, *alib.*)³ looks like a reminiscence of an actual ceremony. Thus at Athens the wife of the priestly-king was yearly married to Dionysus in the βουκολεῖον, or Ox-stall (Aristot. *const. Ath.* 3. 5), a name which Wilamowitz (*Aristot. u. Ath.* ii. 42) connects with the bull-form of Dionysus. It is probable that the Cnossian rite was strictly analogous to this. In view of the fact that Cretan mythology often represented the sky-god or sun-god as a bull, it may be conjectured that the queen thus disguised was regarded as a sky-goddess or sun-goddess. We know that in Egypt queens were sometimes buried in cow-shaped sarcophagi of wood to identify them with Hathor the sky-goddess or sun-goddess (Hdt. 2. 129 ff. and Lepsius *Chronol.* i. 309). The Greeks regularly spoke of Hathor as Aphrodite (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1862, 6 ff.); and Aphrodite in many places bore the title Παισιφάη (Lyd. *de mens.* p. 117, 12 Wuensch): e.g. in Thessaly Heracles established a *temenos* of Cythera Παισιφάεσσα beneath an evergreen oak because she had helped him to capture the oxen and daughter of Geryones ([Aristot.] *mir. ausc.* 133, p. 48, 12 Westerm.). All this tends to prove that the Cnossians had a yearly ceremony, at which their queen was solemnly wedded to the sky-god or sun-god. Was this the ἱερὸς γάμος celebrated annually near Cnossus by means of a mimetic representation (Diod. 5, 72)? The name Daedalus certainly recalls the Daedala of Plataea, a yearly festival at which the oak-tree bride was prepared for her husband Zeus (Frazer *G.B.*² i. 225 f.).

The extant remains of the palace at Phaestus, a town founded by Minos (Strab. 479, Diod. 5. 78), are so similar to those of the palace at Cnossus (*J.H.S.* xxi. 336 ff.

³ Cp. also Clem. Rom. *homil.* 5. 13 Ζεὺς Εὐρώπην διὰ ταύρου συνήλθεν.

xxii. 387 ff.) that we look with some confidence to find the same cult of an oak-Zeus accompanied by Rhea and Aphrodite there also. Coins of Phaestus (Fig. 8 = *Brit. Mus.*



FIG. 8.

Cat. Gk. Coins Crete pl. 15, 10) represent a youthful god seated in a tree and holding on his knee a cock. The legend ΕΛΛΑΝΟΣ is i.e. *Feλxavos* is interpreted by the gloss in Hesychius *Feλxavos*: ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κρήσιν.¹ Mr. Svoronos has pointed out (*Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894, pp. 127, 137) that the tree on these Phaestian coins is identical with the oak on the coins of Gortyn (figs. 1, 2); and his identification is confirmed by the fact that there was a festival called *Feλκάνια* at Gortyn (Comparetti *Leggi di Gort.* p. 24, no. 10, 1 *Feλκανί[οις]*). It is commonly supposed that *Velchanos* is etymologically the same word as *Volcanus* (Preller-Jordan³ ii. 148, n. 1, Stolz *Hist. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.* i. 127): if so, this oak-Zeus might be a god of fire or heat. Welcker *Gr. Gött.* ii. 245 explained the cock by the help of a passage in Pausanias, who in describing certain statues dedicated to Zeus at Olympia says (5. 25. 9 Frazer): 'The one with the scutcheon of the cock on the shield is Idomeneus, the descendant of Minos. They say that Idomeneus was descended from the Sun, who was the sire of Pasiphae, and that the cock is sacred to the Sun, and heralds his rising.' If, then, we could establish any connexion between the name *Feλxavos* and the Minoan cock, we should be in a fair way to understand the full meaning of our coin-type. Now a black-figured amphora from Vulci represents the combat between Theseus and the Minotaur in the presence of Minos and nine other persons; along with them are ranged two pairs of large cocks inscribed respectively *Feλκος* and *Xairos*, *Xairos* and *Σφεκις* (Roulez *Choix de vases*, pl. 10, Reinach *Rép vases peints*, ii. 271). Holwerda (*Jahrb.*

d. Inst. 1890, v. 245) calls this amphora 'Korinthisch-attisch' and states that Roulez's publication of it is 'sehr ungenügend.' I would suggest that *Feλκος* is a misreading of *Feλκος*. However that may be, it is clear that at Phaestus there was a cult of Zeus *Teλxānos*, oak-god and sun-god, whose sacred bird was the cock. The Phaestians worshipped Rhea also, as we know from an inscription (*Mus. ital. d. ant. class.* iii. 735 f.). And, lastly, there was a temple of Aphrodite *Σκορία* in the same town (*etym. mag.* 543, 48 f.): the analogy of Zeus *Σκορίτας* etc. (*infra*) makes it probable that she was the goddess of an oak-grove. In short, the royal cults of Cnossus all reappear at Phaestus.

A well-known fresco found in the House of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii (fig. 9 = Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* II. i. pl. 3, 10) shows the marriage of Zeus and Hera. Iris as bridesmaid presents the richly-attired bride to her groom, who receives her χεῖρ ἐπὶ καρπῷ. Behind them is a shrine of Rhea, represented by a column with three lions on its triangular abacus, cymbals and flutes suspended from its shaft, and a tympanum leaning against it. The subject painted by the Hellenistic artist is in fact that described by the Hellenistic poet: Theocr. 17. 131 ff. 'Thus was brought to fulfilment the sacred wedlock of the immortals, whom Rhea bare to be rulers of Olympus: one couch was strewn for the slumber of Zeus and Hera by Iris, a virgin still, with perfume-brightened hands.' Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 239 ff. has made it probable that the scene of the marriage is laid by the painter in Crete at the foot of Mt. Ida. This suits not only the mountainous landscape and the woods in the background, which might be anywhere, but also the combination of Zeus-worship with Rhea-worship, which is attested for Cnossus both by literature (Eur. *Κρήτες frag.* 475 a Dind., Diod. 5. 65 f.) and by the monuments (*supra*). Now Zeus in the wall-painting is depicted as wearing a wreath of oak-leaves.² Overbeck therefore suggests (*op. cit.* p. 242) that the oak may have been sacred to the Cretan Zeus. His suggestion is, as I have already shown, confirmed by the Gortyn coins and the throne of Minos. It remains to mention the three youthful male figures seated beside Zeus. Welcker (*alte Denkm.* iv. 96 f.) explained them as the Idaean Dactyli; Stephani (*Bull. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersb.* xii. 302, 80) with less probability as personified Meadows; *alii aliter*.

² With the veil here and elsewhere worn by the oak-Zeus I hope to deal on another occasion.

¹ Cp. Hesych. Ἐπιρνύτιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ. Preller-Robert⁴ p. 130 n. 3 connect ἔπρος, ἐρνύται. On this showing the title means 'Zeus on the tree,' cp. Hesych. Ἐνδεδρόπος· παρὰ Ποδίους Ζεὺς· καὶ Διόνυσος ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ.

Conceivably they are Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon, the three sons of Zeus by Europa. The point cannot be settled till the nature of the wreaths that they are wearing is determined. Helbig (*die Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* p. 33 f. no. 114) describes them as wreaths of primroses, though the published drawings of them resemble rather wreaths of oak- or laurel-leaves. However that may be, the fresco is of interest as furnishing us with one more trace of the Cretan oak-Zeus.

But it is time to turn from Crete to other localities in which the same cult is found.

Cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη: καὶ Σουίδας δὲ φησι Φηγηναίου Διὸς ἱερὸν εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. Now, if the cult of an oak-Zeus came from a district called Σκοτούσσα, it is probable that the σκότος in question was the shadow of an oak or an oak-forest, and not improbable that special sanctity was attached to such a shadow; for the shadow in folklore is often tantamount to the soul (*G.B.*² i. 285 ff.). Pausanias in describing the country about Sparta says (3. 10. 6 Frazer, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σκοτινά): 'The whole country-side is clothed with oak-woods. The name of the place, how-

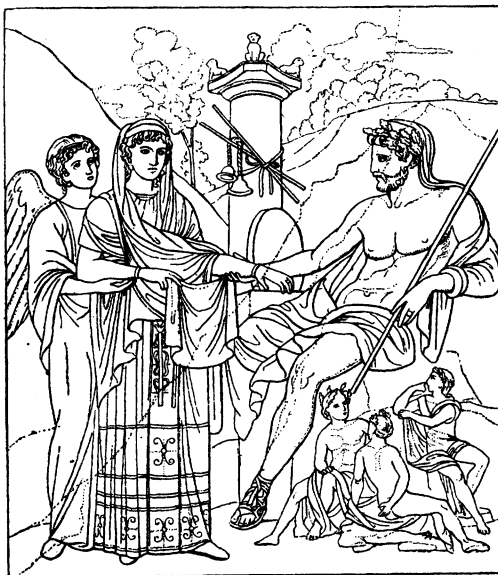


FIG. 9.

Strabo 329 states on the authority of Suidas the historian that the cult of the Dodonaean Zeus came originally from Thessaly (ἐκ τῆς περὶ Σκοτούσσαν Πελασγίας), that Zeus derived his title Πελασγικός from this circumstance, and that the priestesses of Dodona were descended from the women of Scotussa who accompanied their cult. The scholia on *Il.* 16. 233 add some further points, *e.g.* 'There are two Dodonas, one in Thessaly, the other in Molossia' (codd. ABDV) and 'The men of Scotussa say that they have a bean-shaped¹ hill fifteen furlongs from Scotussa itself, on which is a sanctuary of Zeus Φηγηναῖος' (codd. BL).

¹ φακέντα: the word has escaped the dictionary-makers. There was a town Φάκιον at the foot of an isolated hill close to the Thessalian Phaestus; but that was some twenty-four miles from Scotussa.

ever, Σκοτίτας, is not derived from the thickness of the woods, but from Zeus Σκοτίτας, whose sanctuary we reach by turning out of the road' etc. Scherer in Roscher *lex.* i. 1789, 42 ff. rightly remarks that Pausanias has inverted the facts; Zeus was called after the dark forest, not *vice versa*. Zeus Σκοτίτας thus furnishes a parallel to the Zeus of Σκοτούσσα: in both cases the shadow is that of an oak-wood.² Another parallel is to be found in the phrase ὁ παρὰ τῇ δρυὶ σκότος. Plutarch (*quaestt. Gr.* 20. 295 f) asks τίς ὁ λεγόμενος ἐν Πριήνῃ παρὰ δρυὶ σκότος; and answers that the men of Priene once

² Plut. *de ei ap. Delph.* 2 D mentions a Hades Σκότιος, but without further description; and we have already found Aphrodite Σκορία at Phaestus, where there was certainly the cult of an oak-Zeus.

fought the men of Miletus in the days of Bias and lost heavily at a place called The Oak: ever afterwards the chief oath of the Priene women was to swear by 'the darkness at The Oak,' because their sons and fathers and husbands had there fallen.¹ Setting aside this obviously aetiological tale, we may fairly argue that, if the oath by the shadow of the oak was the oath used on great occasions (Plut. *loc. cit.* *περὶ τῶν μεγίστων*), the shadow of the oak represented the chief divinity of the place. And, since Priene was an Ionian town, its divinities must have been Pelasgian in their origin. We are thus led back once more to a Pelasgian oak-god who cast a sacred shade, like the Zeus of Scotussa: the comparison is strengthened by the fact that at Priene, as in Thessaly, the women are specially mentioned in connexion with him.

Here, however, an objection may be raised. The men of Priene superintended the ritual of Poseidon Ἐλικώνιος at the Panionian festival on Mt. Mycale: this post of honour was assigned to them on the ground that they were descended from the Ionians of Helice in Achaea, where Poseidon Ἐλικώνιος had a famous sanctuary (Strab. 384, 639). Their chief divinity, therefore, appears to have been Poseidon rather than Zeus. In answer to this I should reply that Poseidon is but 'Zeus in the water' (p. 175), and that, precisely at the place where we should expect to find Poseidon Ἐλικώνιος in his earliest shape, what we do find is a sacred spring and a cult of Zeus Ἐλικώνιος. For the title Ἐλικώνιος is obviously derived, not from Helice, but as Aristarchus saw (*etym. mag.* 547, 16) from Mt. Helicon across the Gulf. And on Mt. Helicon was a spring and an altar of Zeus Ἐλικώνιος (Hes. *theog.* 4 and schol.). The custom at Priene was to appoint a young man as βασιλεύς to perform the sacrifice at the Panionian festival (Strab. 384). G. F. Schoemann *Griech. Alterth.* ⁴ p. 423 regards him as a priestly-king, who reigned for the

time being. He was probably identical with the eponymous magistrate of the Panionian League (*C.I.G.* 2909 *ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀμύντορος ἔδοξεν Ἰώνων τῇ βουλῇ κ.τ.λ.*); for the title πρυτάνης borne by that magistrate was elsewhere borne by priestly-kings, who were set apart πρὸς τὰς θυσίας τὰς κοινὰς and derived their honour ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας (Aristot. *pol.* 8. 8. 1322 b 29). It appears, then, that at Priene there was not only a sacred oak, but also a priestly-king who had charge of the Panionian ἐστία and held office for a very limited period in the flower of his age. What are these but the essentials of the Dodonaean cult?

Another town belonging to the same League had its πρυτάνης (Aristot. *pol.* 9. 5. 1305 a 17 f.) or priestly βασιλεύς (Ditt.² 627, 5) and a cult of Poseidon Ἐλικώνιος apparently associated with an oak. 'At Miletus,' says Pausanias (7. 24. 5), 'on the way to the spring of Biblis, there is an altar of Heliconian Poseidon in front of the city.' It will be remembered that the oak figures prominently in the legend of Biblis. Parthenius (*narr. am.* 11. 3—4) tells how she hanged herself ἀπὸ τινος δρῦος, and how the fountain sprang from her tears. Ovid (*met.* 9. 665) says of the spring: 'nomen habet dominae, nigraque sub ilice manat.' And, according to Nicander (*ap. Ant. Lib.* 30) Biblis was turned into a Hamadryad. The cult of Poseidon at Miletus was introduced by Neleus the founder of the town, who raised an altar to him in the Poseidion (Strab. 633). According to the local legend, Neleus had been led to select his site by Artemis Χιτώνη, under whose guidance he found a fine and fruitful oak (δρῦς): out of it he made an image for the goddess, and round it he built Miletus (schol. Call. *h. Iov.* 77, cp. *h. Dian.* 225 ff.). Apollo too at Miletus bore the title Δρύμας (Lyc. 522, Tzetz. *ad loc.*, cp. Strab. 321) or Δρύμαιος (schol. vet. *ad Lyc.* 522); whence it may be inferred that the oak-god of the Milesians had solar powers.

The cult of an oak-Zeus seems indeed to have been fairly common in Asia Minor. Hesychius has preserved the gloss ἄσκρα δρῦς ἄκαρπος; and Schrader *Preh. Antt.* p. 226 connects ἄσκρα with ἄσπρις, ἄσπρις, a kind of oak. This enables us to fix the character of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος, to whom the Lydians brought their first-fruits (Plut. *mor.* 501 f). He was worshipped at Halicarnassus also, where a herd of goats used to be brought before his temple and the priest would sacrifice the goat that

¹ Zenob. 6. 12 in explaining the proverb τὸ περὶ Δρῦν σκότος cites an abbreviated form of the Priene legend from Aristotle's *Samian Constitution*. We do not know the context in which it there occurred; but an ancient name of Samos was Δρυοῦσσα, 'Oak Island' (Heraclid. *de polit.* 10, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σάμος, Hesych. *s. vv.* Δόρυσσα and Δρυοῦσσα, *C.I.G.* 2905, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 31), and the aniconic Hera of the Samians may have been an oaken trunk (Ulrichs *Anfänge d. griech. Künstlergeschichte* p. 29 n. would restore the pentameter Ἦρας καὶ Σάμιοι πρίνινον εἶχον ἔδος from Euseb. *prep. ev.* 3. 8 Ἦρας δὲ καὶ Σάμιοι ξύλινον εἶχον ἔδος, ὥς φησι Καλλιμάχος κ.τ.λ.)

approached his altar (Apollon. *hist. mir.* p. 107, 20 Westerm.). Imperial coins of that town represent him as a bearded god crowned with rays and standing between two oak-trees, on each of which is a bird (fig. 10 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Caria



FIG. 10.

p. 111, no. 88). The rayed crown implies that Zeus was here regarded as a sun-god; and it is noteworthy that Menander of Laodicea on the Lycus, in his treatise *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* (Walz ix. 329, 26), mentions an Apollo Ἀσκραῖος. Of the birds Head *hist. num.* p. 527 remarks: 'the two birds are clearly oracular.'¹ Not unlike the ritual of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος was that of Zeus at Pedasia in Caria, where a goat used to go before the priest of its own accord; here too the temple was haunted by a couple of ravens, one of which had a white throat ([Aristot.] *mir. ausc.* 137 Westerm.).

Side by side with the cult of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος at Halicarnassus there seems to have been a cult of Aphrodite Ἀσκραία; for the Halicarnassians built at Troezen, their metropolis, a ναὸν . . . Ἀφροδίτης Ἀσκραίας (Paus. 2. 32. 6). When, therefore, we reflect that an ancient Carian town was named Aphrodisias, it becomes of interest to enquire whether its inhabitants likewise worshipped an oak. Now imperial coins of



FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.

that town show the leafless trunk of a tree with three branches. Sometimes the three

¹ Car the eponym of Caria was said to have been the first to draw omens from birds (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 203).

branches rise separately from an enclosure of trellis-work (fig. 11 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Caria p. 35, pl. 6, 8). Sometimes they spring from a single trunk, on either side of which is a naked man wearing a Phrygian cap: the one on the left wields a double axe; the one on the right kneels or runs away, turning his back upon the tree (fig. 12 = *ib.* p. 34, pl. 6, 7). Sometimes a third man is present, who raises both his arms in the air (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 142 f., pl. 9, 29). Sometimes no men are there, but the tree is flanked by two lighted altars (fig. 13 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*



FIG. 13.

Caria p. 35, no. 58). May we not venture to identify this bare trunk with the oak of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος² and Aphrodite the patroness of the town with Aphrodite Ἀσκραία? If so, the resemblance between the cults of Aphrodisias and Dodona is striking. At both places (a) Aphrodite is connected with an oak-Zeus; (b) the tree-god had a triple aspect; (c) a fire was maintained before the sacred tree; (d) there was a ceremony of wood-cutting. When Sulla took the title Epaphroditus and, in obedience to an oracle which promised him sovereign power, dedicated a golden crown and a double axe in the temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias (App. *de bell. civ.* 1. 97), he was unconsciously acting the part of a second Hellus. Attached to this temple was an official called ὁ φοινικοῦς, who, to judge from his title, wore a purple robe, 'perhaps as continuing an older office of the style of king or priest' (W. M. Ramsay *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 66 n. 1). Alexander is known to have worn a purple robe as an incarnation of Zeus Ammon (Athen. 537 E). I would therefore suggest that ὁ φοινικοῦς was in like manner a human representative of an oak-Zeus, in short the priestly-king of

² Zeus was worshipped at Aphrodisias under the title Zeus Νινεύδιος (*Bull. de corr. hell.* 1886 x. 80), i.e. Zeus the god of Νινὴ, the old name of the town (Steph. Byz. s. vv. Μεγάλη πόλις and Νινὴ). A small altar found in a Turkish cemetery near Aphrodisias and now at Oxford is inscribed Διὸς Λαβραύνδου καὶ Διὸς Μεγίστου (Michel 802).

Aphrodisias. Similarly Anaxenor of Magnesia ad Maeandrum as priest of Zeus Σωσίπολις was honoured with a purple robe (Strab. 648); and, since Zeus on coins of Magnesia wears a wreath of oak (Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 234), it is probable that Anaxenor too ranked as an oak-king.

Elsewhere in Caria we come across traces of a three-fold Zeus. Strabo 659 says that in or near Mylasa there were three sanctuaries of Zeus, that of Zeus Ὅσोगός, that of Zeus Λαβρανδηνός or Στράτιος, and that of Zeus Κάριος. The connexion between Zeus Ὅσोगός and Zeus Λαβρανδηνός was very close; for an imperial coin of Mylasa shows them standing face to face, the former with a trident, the latter with a double axe in his hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Caria p. 133, no. 37), while another even exhibits a trident and a double axe combined to form a single weapon (*ib.* p. 132, pl. 22, 3). Again, Zeus Λαβρανδηνός or Στράτιος must have been virtually one with Zeus Κάριος; for in the temple near Mylasa Zeus Λαβρανδηνός had a sword slung at his side and was worshipped under the names of Στράτιος and Κάριος (Ael. *hist. an.* 12. 30). In short, the three Zeuses of Mylasa mentioned by Strabo were but three forms of one and the same god. Zeus Ὅσोगός with his trident was otherwise called *Ζηνοποσειδών* (see Roscher *Lex. s.v.* 'Osogoa') and was certainly a water-god. Zeus Λαβρανδηνός with his double axe was no less certainly a sky-god, and in that capacity sent rain (Ael. *hist. an.* 12. 30). The nature of the third Zeus is unknown. All three have points in common with Zeus Ἀσκραῖος. An imperial coin of Mylasa now at Paris shows Zeus Ὅσोगός bearing an eagle and a trident and wearing a crown of rays, a trait which, as Drexler pointed out (Roscher *Lex.* iii. 1228, 26), serves to connect him with Zeus Ἀσκραῖος. Zeus Στράτιος (= Λαβρανδηνός) was worshipped in a great grove of sacred plane-trees (Hdt. 5. 119); and we have seen the plane more than once take the place of the oak as the tree of Zeus. Lastly, Zeus Κάριος was honoured not only at Mylasa but also by the Lydians and Mysians (Hdt. 1. 171, Strab. 659); and the cult of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος was likewise common to Carians and Lydians (*supra*). That the Zeus of Mylasa had at one time a priestly-king, is probable from Strabo's statement that the most illustrious citizens of the town were priests of Zeus Στράτιος throughout their life (Strab. 659).¹

¹ A queer tale is told by Aristot. *de part. an.* 3. 10. 673 a 17 ff. about a priest of the Carian Zeus

Of the rites connected with the cult nothing is known: but it is likely that the *ταυροφόνια* of Mylasa (Lebas-Waddington 404) resembled the *βουφόνια* of Athens (Frazer *G.B.*² ii. 294 f.) and were celebrated as part of the ritual of Zeus (? Zenoposeidon).

At Stratonicea Zeus bore the titles *Χρυσαιοεύς* (Strab. 660) or *Χρυσάειος* (*C.I.G.* 2720, 2721) and *Πανάμωρος* (*C.I.G.* 2719, 2720, 2721) or *Πανημέριος* (*C.I.G.* 2715 a, 2716, 2717). Zeus 'of the Golden Sword' was in all likelihood a sky-god like Zeus Λαβρανδηνός, who also had a sword (Ael. *hist. an.* 12. 30): cp. *Χρυσάωρ*, *Χρυσάορος*, as epithets of Apollo (Pauly-Wissowa iii. 2484, 57 ff.). Zeus Πανάμωρος appears to mean 'the god of broad daylight' (Farnell *Cults* i. 43). The celestial or solar character of Zeus at Stratonicea is further shown by the fact that on some coins of the city his head is radiate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Caria p. 153, pl. 24, 4). At Stratonicea too there was a ceremony resembling the *βουφόνια*. An imperial coin (fig. 14 = *Brit. Mus. Cat.*



FIG. 14.

Gk. Coins Caria p. 157, pl. 24, 8) represents the rite taking place before a sacred oak-tree. A bull of its own accord approaches a garlanded altar or platform, on which stands a man wearing a short *chiton*, a *chlamys*, and *endromides*. In his left hand he holds a sceptre; in his right a dagger, which he is about to plunge into the neck of the bull. Other coins of Stratonicea show Zeus himself in precisely the same costume (*ib.* p. 158, pl. 24, 10). Hence I infer that the sceptre-bearing *βουθύτης* was a priestly-king, who acted the part of Zeus himself

² *Ὀπλόσμιος*. He was killed and beheaded by some person or persons unknown; but his severed head went on repeating the line ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἄνδρα Κερκιδᾶς ἀπέκτεινεν, 'Cercidas slew a man in single fight,' till the murderer was brought to justice. Does this folk-tale point to a primitive custom of *monomachia* for the post of priestly-king?

before the sacred oak.¹ And since a lighted altar is often represented on the coins before the figure of Zeus (*ib.* p. 151, pl. 24, 1), it may be conjectured that part of the priest's office was the maintenance of a perpetual fire.

The transition from oak to poplar (pp. 181, 273, 407) seems to have occurred at Sardes. On an imperial coin of that town (fig. 15 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Lydia p. 267,



FIG. 15.

pl. 27, 11) we see Zeus Ἀυδῖος standing on a pillar or pedestal beneath a poplar-tree. In his right hand he holds an eagle with closed wings (so *Head op. cit.*); in his left, a sceptre. Before him is placed a large stone altar adorned with three figures in relief. Amid the flames can be distinguished the heads of four bulls.

That there was or had been a priestly-king at Priene, Miletus, Aphrodisias, Mylasa, and Stratonicea, appears also from the title *στεφανηφόρος* borne by eponymous magistrates of those towns (Michel 481, 483 Priene; Ditt.² 314, 469 Miletus; *B.C.H.* 1885 ix. 75 Aphrodisias; Michel 472-474, 725 Mylasa; Lebas-Waddington 517, 519, 525 Stratonicea). Prof. Ramsay *op. cit.* p. 56 f. proves that this title originally denoted the representative of a divinity, who as such 'wore the dress of the god.' Thus Apollo *Στεφανηφόρος* at Iasus (Michel 1202) was represented by a personage sometimes called in full *στεφανηφόρος Ἀπόλλωνος*, but more often simply *στεφανηφόρος* (*C.I.G.* 2673 ff., Lebas-Waddington 251 ff.). It follows that the nature of the magistrate's wreath is a reliable clue to the nature of the deity whom he represented: *e.g.* at Smyrna the *στεφανηφόρος* (Michel 19, 34, Philostr.

v. soph. 2. 26. 2) wore a wreath of oak (fig. 6) like that of the Great Mother there worshipped (fig. 5).

Now Rhodes too had its eponymous *στεφανηφόρος* (Michel 431), who was priest of the sun-god² (Michel 535, *cp.*



FIG. 16.

Herwerden *lex. suppl. s.v. στεφαναφόρος*); and Rhodian coins, whose obverse type is a radiate head of Helios, have sometimes on their reverse side a magistrate's name enclosed by a fine oak-wreath (figs. 16, 17 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Caria p. 261, pl. 41, 4). We can but conclude that the sacred tree of the sun-god in Rhodes, his

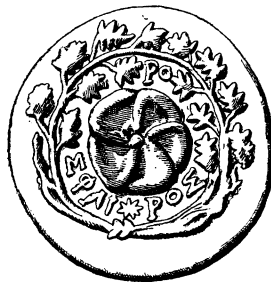


FIG. 17.

favourite island, was the oak, and that the Rhodian *στεφανηφόρος* was the oak-king of the district.

² An inser. from Rhodes records an eponymous magistrate named Chrysaor (*I. G. Ins.* i. 1204 *ἐπὶ Χρυσάορος*), and two decrees found at Iasus are dated *ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Χρυσάορος* (Michel 469) and *ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Χρυσάορου* (Lebas-Waddington 292) respectively. Probably the title of the local god was often given as a child's name: *e.g.* at Corycus in Cilicia the chief deity was Hermes and 'names formed from Ἑρμῆς are common there' (G. F. Hill *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Lycania etc. p. lxvii. n. 4). Still, the possibility remains that the priest who represented the god took the god's name. A list of the priests of Zeus at Corycus (Michel 878) contains with surprising frequency the name *Zās*, which can hardly be other than the name of Zeus himself.

¹ Cp. the Lydian plane-tree, which Xerxes honoured with ornaments of gold and a special champion to guard it (Hdt. 7. 31, *Ael. var. hist.* 2. 14).

This suits what is known of the primitive stratum of Rhodian religion. It is generally admitted that the sun-god Helios was simply a specialized form of Zeus (see Rapp in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1994, 62 ff.), who was worshipped in early days at Amorgus as Zeus Ἥλιος (Röhl² p. 55 no. 28). It is not surprising, therefore, to find the oak as his sacred tree. Probably the Zeus Ἐνδεδροσ¹ of the Rhodians (Hesych. s.v. Ἐνδεδροσ), like the radiate Zeus Ἀσκραῖος of Halicarnassus, was at once sun-god² and oak-god. Hence Helen the daughter of Zeus (*Od.* 4. 227, 569) was also called the daughter of Helios, and was worshipped in Rhodes as Helen Δενδρίτις because, like Biblis at Miletus, she had hanged herself on an oak (Ptolem. *nov. hist.* 4 p. 189 Westerm., Paus. 3. 19. 10). The other Heliades also were sometimes said to have been turned into oaks (schol. B Eur. *Hipp.* 733 Schw.).³ At the same time both in myth and in ritual Helios is closely related to Poseidon. He married Rhode the daughter of Poseidon (Apollod. 1. 4. 6); and, as Mr. Torr *Rhodes in Anc. Times* p. 73 f. points out, his annual festival was remarkably like that of Poseidon elsewhere. The yearly Rhodian rite consisted in flinging four horses into the sea to serve as the team of the sun-god (Fest. s.v. 'October equus'); and every ninth year the Illyrians cast four horses into the sea for Poseidon Ἴππιος (Paul. Fest. s.v. 'Hippius'). Thus Helios was connected on the one hand with Zeus; on the other, with Poseidon. We need not, however, with Mr. Torr *ib.* p. 74 assume 'some blending of the worships.' The facts are harmonized by the simple conception of the sun-god driving his chariot up the sky from the waters of the sea—a conception familiar enough both in literature and in art.⁴

The same association between an oak-Zeus and a sun-god occurs in Lyc. 536 f.

¹ See p. 413 n. 1. Hyg. *fab.* 139 relates that Amalthea hung the cradle of the infant Jupiter in *arbore* to prevent Saturn from finding it.

² Hesych. Ἐριδιμῖος Ζεὺς ἐν Ῥόδῳ is obscure. An inscr. from Camirus (Ditt.² 609) records the priests of Apollo Ἐρεθίμιος, cp. Hesych. Ἐρεθίμιος· ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Δυκίοις, καὶ ἐορτὴ Ἐρεθίμια. There was also a cult of Apollo Ἐρεθίστιος in Rhodes (Strab. 613).

³ According to the common version they became poplars (Roscher *Lex.* i. 1983, 8 ff.). In the Rhodian Tlepolemeia the wreath was of white poplar (schol. rec. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 141). The poplar was a recognized alternative for the oak (*supra* p. 418).

⁴ Besides, as I have already argued (pp. 175, 177), both τι-Τάν and ποτει-Δάν appear to be modified forms of Ζεύς.

ὁ Δρύμνιος
δαίμων Προμανθεὺς Αἰθίοψ Γυράψιος.

Δρύμνιος, a title under which Zeus was worshipped in Pamphylia (Tzetz. in Lyc. 536), certainly denotes an oak-god. Προμανθεὺς, his title at Thurii (Tzetz. in Lyc. 537), is probably to be connected with the Sanskrit *pramantha*, 'fire-stick' (E. Kuhn *die Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 18). Αἰθίοψ means 'he of the glowing face,' and is a third title of Zeus in use at Chios (Tzetz. in Lyc. 537, cp. Eustath. 1385, 62 Διὸς ἐπιθετον, αἰθίοψ... ὡς φαεινόν. παρὰ τὸ αἶθω τὸ λάμπω. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ αἰθὴρ Ζεὺς). Γυράψιος, another name for Zeus among the Chians (Tzetz. *ib.*), may be fairly interpreted 'he of the round wheel' (γυρός and ἄψις): ἄψις is used of the wheel of the sun's chariot as in Eur. *Phaethon* frag. 779 Dind. ἀψίδα σὴν | κάτω διήσει, *Ion.* 87 f. τὴν ἡμερίαν | ἀψίδα, or of the curved course described by the sun as in a fragment of Archestratus *ap.* Athen. 326 B ἂν Φαέθων πυμάτην ἀψίδα διφρένῃ. This remarkable combination of epithets recalls at once the legend of Prometheus, who by the aid of Minerva ascended to heaven and stole fire 'adhibita ferula ad rotam Solis' (Serv. *eccl.* 6. 42): the name Προμηθεὺς cannot, of course, be derived from *pramantha*; it is rather to be connected with *pramētha*, 'theft'; but the form Προμηθεὺς not improbably fixed the termination of Προμανθεὺς, and conversely the *pramantha* appears as the 'ferula' of Prometheus (Kuhn *op. cit.* pp. 18 f., 63). Further, the association of the fire-stick with the wheel, which meets us alike in the titles of the Δρύμνιος δαίμων and in the myth of Prometheus, suggests that the reference is, not to the simplest form of fire-stick—a vertical twirled by hand on a horizontal, but to the more advanced type of a fire-drill such as is used by the Eskimos or the North American Indians. An Iroquois sample figured by the Rev. J. G. Wood *Man and his handiwork*, pp. 420, 422 shows the vertical weighted by means of a large wheel or spindle-whorl and turned by a bow resembling that of an ordinary bow-drill. However that may be, Lycophron certainly brings before us a Pamphylian oak-Zeus regarded as a solar divinity and to that extent at least resembling the Dodonaean Zeus.

Not only the oak but also the mistletoe that grew upon it was appropriate to the sun-god. At Ixiai in Rhodes, a town named after the mistletoe (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰξίαι), there was a cult of Ἰξίος Ἀπόλλων

(Artemid. *ap. eund.*). We are not expressly told that this mistletoe grew on an oak: but it is probable, both because special virtues were ascribed to oak-mistletoe (Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 11 f.), and because the Rhodians regarded the oak as the sun-god's tree (*supra*). And here it occurs to us that the name 'Ιξίων is susceptible of a similar explanation. Ixion was the father of Peirithoüs (Apollod. 1. 8. 2, Strab. 439), whose constant associate was Dryas (Il. 1. 263, Hes. *sc.* 179). The relationship thus established between 'Ιξίων the Mistletoe and Δρύας the Oak is scarcely fortuitous. Note, however, that according to our oldest authorities Peirithoüs was the son, not of Ixion, but of Zeus himself (Il. 2. 741, 14. 317). This at once raises the question whether Ixion was not a by-form of Zeus. Ixion's wife bore the name Δία, a feminine derived from the same root as Ζεύς, Διός: and in Il. 14. 317 Zeus admits to Hera that he was enamoured 'Ιξιωνίης ἀλόχοιο. By a kind of reciprocal attraction Ixion aspired to consort with Hera, and was punished in consequence. 'Zeus in his anger bound Ixion to a winged wheel and sent it spinning through the air. Ixion under the lash repeats the words WE MUST HONOUR OUR BENEFACTORS. Others say that Zeus hurled him into Tartarus. Others again, that the wheel was made of fire' (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1185). Ixion bound to his blazing wheel and sent spinning through the upper air and under the nether gloom is clearly the sun-god, and has commonly been so understood (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 770, 1 ff.). Hence his connexion with fire: he was called the son of Φλεγύας by Euripides (*Ixion frag.* 428 Dind.), the brother of Φλεγύας by Strabo (442), the son of Αἴτων (Weizsäcker *cj.* Αἴθων) by Pherecydes (*ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 3. 62); and it was by means of a flaming pit thinly covered with logs and dust that he entrapped and slew Eioneus the father of Dia (*ib.*). The whole subject of the solar wheel has been ably handled by M. Gaidoz, who in an interesting series of chapters (*Rev. Archéol.* 1884 ii. 7 ff., 136 ff., 1885 i. 179 ff., 364 ff., ii. 16 ff., 167 ff.) has abundantly proved that the nations of antiquity symbolized the sun as a wheel and has traced the survival of that symbolism through mediaeval into modern times. Familiar classical examples are the wheel on coins of Mesembria, and the 'rota Solis' (De Vit cites Enn. *ap. Isid. origg.* 18. 36. 3, Lucr. 5. 432, 564, Val. Flacc. 3. 559, [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.* 1026, Apul. *met.* 9. 28). It

has not, however, been hitherto observed, though indeed the fact is obvious, that 'Ιξίων is derived from ἰξός and that the mistletoe was on Greek soil thus intimately associated with the sun-god. Dr. Frazer has quoted more than one example from central Europe of a fiery wheel trundled down-hill as a sun-charm (*G.B.*² iii. chap. 4, § 2), and has also been led to conjecture 'that the sun's fire was regarded as an emanation of the mistletoe' (*ib.* iii. 455): surely the myth of Ixion clinches his argument.

There are some indications that at Dodona similar beliefs attached to oak-mistletoe. Alexander Polyhistor stated that the ship Argo was constructed of wood from the 'lion'-tree, which he described as a tree like the mistletoe-bearing oak: it could not, he said, be destroyed by water or by fire any more than the mistletoe can. Pliny, who has preserved this remarkable extract (*nat. hist.* 13. 119 quoted on p. 179), adds that he knows of no other reference to the 'lion'-tree. I think we can supply the omission. Ptolemaeus, who records the Rhodian version of the myth of Helen, *viz.* that she was the daughter of Helios and hanged herself on an oak, mentions in the same context that she went by the name of Λεοντή (Ptolem. *nov. hist.* 4 p. 189 Westerm.). Helen was in all probability 'a nymph or goddess of the tree' (Frazer *Paus.* iii. 360, *cp.* Theocr. 18. 43 ff., Paus. 8. 23. 4). I infer that the 'lion'-tree was some species of mistletoe-bearing oak. The wheel too was a symbol understood at Dodona. A small bronze wheel¹ inscribed with a dedication to Aphrodite, here an oak-goddess (pp. 408, 416) paired with Zeus (Serv. *Aen.* 3. 466), was found in the sacred precinct (Carapanos i. 47, 19).²

In Italy also oak-mistletoe occurs in connexion with the solar wheel. At Praeneste Fortuna Primigenia, the eldest daughter of Iupiter (Dessau 3684—3686), had an ancient oracular seat adjoining a temple of Iupiter Arcanus (*C. I. L.* xiv. 2937, 2972, *cp.* R. Peter in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1541, 59 ff.).

¹ M. Gaidoz (*Rev. Archéol.* 1885 i. 180 f.) and M. Bertrand (*La religion des Gaulois* p. 185 ff.) have shown that small metal wheels of this type were beyond doubt solar amulets. One found near Argos and inscribed τῷ Φανάκῳ κ.τ.λ. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* no. 253) may have been dedicated to Helios, who was there worshipped (Paus. 2. 18. 3).

² It is possible that the oracular oak of Dodona was itself a mistletoe-bearing tree. The wind that stirred the foliage was thought to sound most loudly in a mistletoe-bearing oak. For in Il. 14. 398 f. οὐτ' ἄνεμος τόσσον γε περὶ δρυσὶν ὑψικρόμοισιν | ἤπνεί, ὅς τε μάλιστα μέγα βρέμεται χαλκεαῖνων Agathocles read δρυσὶν ἰξοφόροις (*ap. Eust.* 994, 41).

The famous *sortes Praenestinae* were graven in archaic characters on tablets of oak (Cic. *de div.* 2. 85), on which Wagler observes (*Die Eiche in alter u. neuer Zeit* ii. 35): 'That these oracular lots were of oak wood can hardly be due to accident. The same prophetic power, that clung to the Zeus-tree at Dodona, resided also in the Jupiter-oaks of Rome. The wood of which these *sortes* were made must have come from a Jupiter-oak of this kind.' Fortuna Primigenia was also worshipped as 'vicina Tonanti' (Dessau 3696) on the Capitol at Rome (Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 10), where in ancient days had stood the sacred oak of Jupiter Feretrius (Liv. 1. 10. 5). When, therefore, we hear that there was on the Capitol a shrine of Fortuna Viscata (Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 74, *de fort. Rom.* 10), we are disposed to believe that 'Viscata' had not merely, as Plutarch thought, the metaphorical sense of 'alluring,' but denoted the literal mistletoe that grew on a sacred oak. The 'rota Fortunae' again (for texts see Grimm *D. M.*⁴ ii. 722 ff.; for monuments, Roscher *Lex.* i. 1506, 51 ff.) was no metaphor, but an actual cult-utensil, probably a wooden wheel hung up in the temple and consulted as oracular, being made to revolve by means of a rope (hence the rope in Hor. *od.* 3. 10. 10). Under this name and in this form it survived into the middle ages and has been used here and there within living memory. The 'wheel of Fortune' was indeed a common sight in mediaeval churches, where it was made of wood, hung up to the roof, worked with a rope, and regarded as an infallible oracle (Gaidoz in *Rev. Archéol.* 1884 ii. 142 ff.). Moreover, the superstitious practices of the peasantry furnish conclusive proof that it was originally a solar wheel used in the oak-cult. For at Douai on the third Sunday in June, *i.e.* about Midsummer Day, a large wheel called the *roue de fortune* was carried in procession before a wicker-work giant known as *le grand Gayant* and other figures called *les enfants de Gayant* (*ib.* 1884 ii. 32 ff.). These wicker giants were certainly the Druid divinities, whose colossal images of wicker-work are described by Caes. *b. G.* 6. 16. In other words, they belonged to a solar cult, which involved the worship of the mistletoe-bearing oak (Frazer *G. B.*² iii. 319 ff.).

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be continued.)

HILL'S COINS OF ANCIENT SICILY.

Coins of Ancient Sicily. By G. F. HILL, M.A. Westminster (Constable and Co.), 1903. Pp. xvi. + 256, with sixteen colotype plates of coins, eighty illustrations in the text, and a map. 21s. net.

ALL students of the history of ancient Sicily will welcome this as a convenient and thoroughly reliable guide to its coinage. The numismatic facts are marshalled with skill and fullness of knowledge, and, in setting them forth, both the historical and the artistic interest are kept carefully in view. The volume does not profess to contain much that is novel, but it contains a great deal that up till now could only be found in the pages of more or less inaccessible monographs. The introductory sketch suffers somewhat from the necessity for extreme compression. On the other hand, a mere synoptic table of events and dates might have proved too thorny a hedge for the general reader. Not the least important feature of the book is the beautiful set of colotype plates. The coins have been selected and arranged with singular judgment, while the execution does credit to the Clarendon Press; the whole is worthy to stand beside that with which it inevitably challenges comparison — the well-known series of eight, appended to the third volume of Holm's *Geschichte Siciliens*. A select bibliography and full indexes add to the value of the work. The type is luxurious, and the cuts in the text show to great advantage. But it is a pity that the book is not lighter to hold in the hand.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

DUEMMLER'S KLEINE SCHRIFTEN.

Kleine Schriften. Von FERDINAND DUEMMLER.

III. Archaeologische Aufsätze. Leipzig. Hirzel. 1901. 12 mk.

THE essays in this volume are of very varying interest, and some of them seem hardly worth reprinting. The first, *Marmorstatue in Beirut*, is well enough for a summary notice, but with time (it was published in 1885) might well have been combined with the other remains of Hellenistic art from that neighbourhood. *De Figuris Plasticis Quibusdam Tarenti Repertis* is out of date now, since the discovery of the votive tablets to the Dioscuri has added so much to our knowledge. Duemmler himself, as the editor



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Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak. (Continued)

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The rest of the volume is of a miscellaneous character.¹

On f. 89 (b) is a drawing of a lamp of the Christian period from the collection of Monsignor Ciampini, with a cross on the front and the letters CARMERO on the back; and on f. 91 drawings of the stamps on similar lamps; on one FLOREN, on the other the monogram $\overline{\text{E}}$.

On f. 94 we have pen drawings (washed) of the lamps *C.I.L.* xv. 6221, 1; 6479 a.

On f. 95 a red chalk drawing of *C.I.L.* vi. 368.

On f. 98 careful pen drawings (washed) of *C.I.L.* xv. 6350, 66, 67.

On f. 100 is the drawing of the top of a lamp marked 'pezzo di tegola di bassissimo rilievo trovata sul monte Aventino sopra il circo massimo 1593 il primo dì dell'anno.' Cybele is depicted in relief with the cornucopiae in her left hand and a double representation of the rudder in her right.

On f. 102 is a drawing of *C.I.L.* xv. 6450 d and of a lamp very like xv. 6200.

On f. 105 is a drawing of the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 1264 and 1665 and of a bronze disk bearing the inscription

M ERV · C · I ·
MONANI · PRAE
CASTRO · LEG ·
IIII · SCYTICA

The rest of the volume has no features of special interest—the last few leaves (f. 123—134) bear MacGowan's collection mark (IMG in an ansated tablet.).

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

ZEUS, JUPITER AND THE OAK.

(Continued from Vol. XVII p. 421)

I CONTINUE my examination of the Zeus-cults.

Zeus in Lycia.

In Lycia the evidence is as follows. On three sides of the 'Harpy' tomb from Xanthus is a male figure, enthroned and sceptred, holding a flower (E), a pomegranate and perhaps an apple (S). To this personage on each side of the monument a man is bringing a gift, viz. a helmet (N), a cock (E), and a dove (S). Braun (*Ann. dell' Inst.* 1844 p. 151) proposed to identify the seated

figures with Zeus (S), Poseidon (E), and Hades (N). But Panofka (*Arch. Zeit.* 1843 p. 49 ff.) and E. Curtius (*ib.* 1855 p. 1 ff.) with more reason took them to be Zeus viewed under a triple aspect. Welcker too regarded them as 'three Zeuses' (*Gr. Götterl.* i. 164). And Overbeck, whose knowledge of Zeus-reliefs was unrivalled, admits that they are in all probability 'eine Trias des höchsten Gottes' (*Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 21). That the triple deity of Xanthus was indeed Zeus may, I think, be shown from the local legend. Xanthus, the eponymous hero of the town, was the son of a certain Triopas. He led a company of Pelasgians from Argos first to Lycia, where he reigned awhile as their king, and then to Lesbos, whose name he changed from Issa to Pelasgia (*Diod.* 5. 81). Now H. Usener in his *Dreieibigkeit* p. 161 ff. (extr. from *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. lviii) has proved that a divine triad, conceived as having three bodies, may degenerate into a single body with three heads or faces or eyes. Thus Hecate, who was usually represented as three complete figures back to back, is often *τριάκρηνος*, a three-headed herm, sometimes *τριπρόσωπος* with a three-faced head, and once at least *τρίγληνος* with a three-eyed face (*ib.* pp. 163–166, 184). Usener offers the same explanation of the the name Triopas, which he regards as 'eine Verkürzung ursprünglicher Dreieibigkeit' (*ib.* p. 183 ff.). The name was borne by several mythological characters, of whom I shall have more to say. For the moment we are concerned with Triopas, father of Xanthus. Did he, as his name suggests, represent a 'three-eyed,' and therefore originally three-bodied, god? Triopas was the grandson of Argus (*Paus.* 2. 16. 1, *Hyg. fab.* 124, 145) the Argive eponym, whom Wernicke (*Pauly-Wissowa* ii. 797 f.), Jensen (*Roscher Lex.* iii. 1549), and mythologists in general identify with Argus *Πανόπτης* as the Argive Zeus: and Argus *Πανόπτης* had, according to Pherecydes (*ap. schol. Eur. Phoen.* 1116), three eyes, one of them being on his neck. Besides, on the Larisa at Argos there existed down to Pausanias' time 'a wooden image of Zeus with two eyes in the usual place, and a third eye on the forehead' (*Paus.* 2. 24. 3). There can then be little doubt that Triopas the Argive derived his name from a triple Pelasgian Zeus. And, since he bore the title appropriate to Zeus, it is not improbable that he was regarded as the human representative of the god. But was this triple Zeus at Argos sky-god, water-god, and earth-god, as my hypothesis demands?

¹ Nearly all the drawings mentioned bear collection numbers.

Pausanias is explicit: speaking of the same *xoanon* he says (2. 24. 4)—‘The reason why it has three eyes may be conjectured to be the following. All men agree that Zeus reigns in heaven, and there is a verse of Homer which gives the name of Zeus also to the god who is said to bear rule under the earth:—“Both underground Zeus and august Proserpine.” Further, Aeschylus, son of Euphronion, applies the name of Zeus also to the god who dwells in the sea. So the artist, whoever he was, represented Zeus with three eyes, because it is one and the same Zeus who reigns in all the three realms of nature, as they are called.’ Pausanias’ conjecture was probably founded on what he was told by the sacristan on the spot. At any rate it is strongly supported by a collateral piece of evidence. Xanthus, son of Triopas, we saw, led his Pelasgians from Lycia to Lesbos, which he re-named Pelasgia. A bronze coin of Mitylene has on its obverse a head of ΖΕΥΣ · ΒΟΥΛΑΙΟΚ, on its reverse a design unique in ancient coinage—Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades, standing side by side and inscribed ΘΕΟΙ · ΑΚΡΑΙΟΙ · ΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑΙΩΝ (Eckhel *doct. num. vet.* ii. 504, Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 207). Whether the triple Zeus of Argos was connected with an oak, we do not know. But it is noteworthy that the Argive Triopas was the son (Diod. 4. 58, Paus. 2. 16. 1, 4. 1. 1) or father (*h. Ap.* 211) of Phorbas, who—as I have shown (*C.R.* xvii. 270)—was the royal guardian of a sacred oak at Dryoscephalae near Plataea.¹

Zeus at Cnidus.

The Triopium of Cnidus, one of the most important religious centres in Asia Minor, was named after a Triopas, though the ancients were not agreed as to who this Triopas was or whence he had come. Jason the historian in his work on *Rhodes* seems to have identified him with Triopas, son of Phorbas (schol. vet. Theocr. 17. 69, where Muncker cj. Φόρβαντος for MSS.

¹ There is one doubtful tradition of an oak-king in Lycia itself. Plut. *de def. or.* 21 mentions three chiefs of the Solymi—Arsalos Dryos and Trosobios—who were worshipped by the Lycians as *σκληροὶ θεοί*, being invoked in public and private imprecations. The name *Δρύος* is certainly suggestive of an oak-cult. But Euseb. *prep. ev.* 5. 5 in his quotation from Plutarch gives the triad as Ἀρσαλον καὶ Ἀρυντον καὶ Τόστιβιν and their title as *σκιροὺς θεούς*. See Overbeck *Aglaoph.* p. 1186 n. i. It should be added that a coin of Sagalassus in Pisidia, a city sometimes reckoned as belonging to Lycia (Ptol. 5. 3. 6), shows the head of Zeus wreathed with oak (Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 234).

Ἀβαντος). Diodorus pronounces in favour of Triopas, son of Helios and Rhodes (5. 56, 61, cp. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 131, Suid. s.v. Αἰθων), who may have been one with Triopas or Triops the father of Merops the Coan (Steph. Byz. s.v. Μέροψ, schol. vet. Theocr. 17. 68). Since the early population of both Cos and Rhodes appears to have been Carian (Ridgeway *E.A.* i. 197 f.), a Coan or Rhodian Triopas might stand for the Carian cult of a triple oak-Zeus (*C.R.* xvii. 415 ff.). But our best source for the Triopian myth is Call. *h. Dem.* 24–117, according to which Triopas was the son of Poseidon and Canace. The Pelasgians, says the poet, before they migrated from Thessaly to Cnidus, had planted a grove for Demeter at Dotium. Here dwelt the royal family of the Triopidae. Erysichthon, son of Triopas, acting under some infatuation, armed his followers with axes and hatchets, and invaded the grove. The first tree attacked was a magnificent poplar (37 αἰγείρος),² which groaned aloud. Demeter heard it and, appearing in the likeness of her priestess, attempted to dissuade the madman. He at once threatened to fell her with his axe, being bent on fashioning the timbers of a house in which to feast with his friends. Demeter in wrath resumed her godlike form; and Erysichthon’s comrades horror-struck left their axes sticking in the oaks (60 ἐνὶ δρυσὶ). She punished their chief by inflicting on him a hunger that nothing would satisfy. *Ov. met.* 8. 738 ff. tells the same tale with some variations. He describes the tree cut down by Erysichthon as an ancient oak (743 ingens annoso robore quercus) adorned with fillets and tablets by the pious rustics. Though the Dryads had often danced beneath it, the son of Triops bade his servants fell it. When they hesitated, he caught up an axe and swore that the tree should fall, though it were not merely the favourite of the goddess, but the goddess herself. Thereupon the *Deia quercus* (758) shivered and groaned and blanched, and at the first stroke shed blood. One of those present protested: Erysichthon beheaded him on the spot, and went on with his impious work. From the stricken trunk was heard the voice of the tree-nymph, who ere she died prophesied the evil end of the Thessalian. The Dryads implored Ceres to avenge their sister’s fate. She banished Erysichthon to Scythia, the abode of

² On the poplar as a mythological equivalent for the oak see *C.R.* xvii. 181, 273, 407, 418, 419 n. 3.

Hunger. What Callimachus and Ovid relate of Erysichthon was by others related of Triopas himself. Diod. 5. 61 says that Triopas, son of Helios and Rhodos, helped the sons of Deucalion to drive the Pelasgians out of Thessaly. When he came to divide up the land, he laid waste the precinct of Demeter in the plain of Dotium and used its timber to make a palace: hence he was hated by the natives and had to fly the country. He sailed to Cnidus and there founded the Triopium. Diodorus adds that some authorities made Triopas the son of Poseidon and Canace, others of Lapithes son of Apollo and Stilbe daughter of Peneus.

This legend of Dotium must be set beside that of Dodona (on Δῶριον, Δωδώνη see *C.R.* xvii. 179). The primeval cult of the earth-mother, the sacrilegious feller of the oak, the divine warning, the axe left on the spot, the human victim beheaded, all these are traits common to both, which incline us to see in Triopas another Hellus. On this showing he would be a priestly-king, warden of the Pelasgian oak-Zeus. As such he probably had a doublet in Triopas, a savage king of the Perrhaebians (Eust. 448, 11, schol. *Il.* 4. 88); for the Perrhaebians dwelt round about Dodona (*Il.* 2. 750) in the Pelasgian district of Thessaly (Aesch. *suppl.* 256), the very district from which the cult of the oak-Zeus was imported into Epirus (Strab. 329). Indeed, the name Triopas seems to have been restricted to kings of Pelasgian or quasi-Pelasgian origin: the father of Pelasgus himself was called Triopas (Hellanicus *ap.* schol. *Il.* 3. 75, Paus. 2. 22. 1, Hyg. *fab.* 145). Moreover, the name hints that the king posed as the incarnation of the three-fold god; which in the case of Triopas king of Dotium is the more credible, since his mother Canace was sister of Alcyone, who called her husband Zeus, and of Salmoneus, who claimed to be Zeus himself (Apollod. 1. 7. 3 f.).

Zeus at Troy.

But Pausanias has more to tell us about the three-eyed *xoanon* at Argos. 'They say that this Zeus was the paternal god of Priam, son of Laomedon, and stood in the court-yard under the open sky; and when Ilium was taken by the Greeks, Priam fled for refuge to this god's altar.' (Paus. 2. 24. 3, cp. 8. 46. 2).¹

¹ Panofka shrewdly cp. a vase by Euthymides, which shows a strange three-eyed head as a blazon on Hector's shield (*Arch. Comm. Paus.* p. 30, pl. 3, 15, 15a).

The schol. Eur. *Tro.* 16 cites from Agias and Dercylus the confirmatory statement that the Zeus Ἐρκείος of Priam had three eyes. Further, there seems to have been some special link between the royal family of Troy and the oak; for oaks (φηγοί) were planted on the tomb of Ilus, the eponymous founder of Ilium (Theophr. *h. pl.* 4. 13. 2, Plin. *h. nat.* 16. 88). Also Ganymedes, the brother or son of Ilus, is represented as standing beneath an oak (*C.R.* xvii. 405 n. 2). And a son of Priam slain by Achilles was named Δρύοψ (*Il.* 20. 455, Apollod. 3. 12. 5). In view of these facts it seems a fair conjecture that the kings of Troy, who in all probability were Pelasgians (Ridgeway *E.A.* i. 179 f.), worshipped the Pelasgian triple oak-Zeus.

This conjecture becomes a certainty, when we take into account the cult of Zeus Ἰδαῖος. I propose to show (1) that Zeus Ἰδαῖος was an oak-god, and (2) that the Zeus Ἐρκείος of Priam was none other than Zeus Ἰδαῖος. (1) The slopes of Mt. Ida were clothed with a forest of oaks (Eur. *Rhes.* 289): to which fact it owed its name; for ἰδῆ was an Ionic term for an oak-clad mountain (Hesych. s.v.). On Gargaros, the highest peak of Mt. Ida, Zeus had a precinct and an altar (*Il.* 8. 47 f.). Hence he was worshipped far and wide as Zeus Ἰδαῖος. Imperial coins of Scepsis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 84, pl. 16, 1) represent ΖΕΥC ΕΙΔΑΙΟC standing with an eagle in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. Other coins of the same town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 83, pl. 15, 13) show an eagle with spread wings enclosed in an oak-wreath, which must be regarded as the wreath of Zeus. A rare coin of Aegae in Aeolis (Fig. 1 = Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus Münztaf.



FIG. 1.

2, 19, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 96, pl. 18, 4) shows Zeus standing in a very similar attitude within a handsome wreath of oak-leaves and acorns. Since the Aeolians of Asia Minor were 'of

old called Pelasgians' (Hdt. 7. 95), it may be claimed that this is again the Pelasgian oak-Zeus. At Aegae, as at Dodona and elsewhere, he had a public hearth; for the Buleuterium or Prytaeum bore the inscription Ἀντιφάνης Ἀπολλωνίδα Διὶ Βολλαίῳ καὶ Ἰστιά Βολλαία καὶ τῷ δάμῳ (R. Bohn u. C. Schuchhardt *Altertümer von Aegae* p. 34). Coins of Ilium from the time of Faustina the Younger onwards show Zeus seated on a throne and holding the palladium: the legend is ΔΙΑ ΙΔΑΙΟΝ ΙΑΙΕΙC (Dörpfeld *Troja u. Ilion* ii. 517, pl. 63, 65). Zeus Ἰδαῖος had indeed been worshipped in Troy since the earliest times; for Homer mentions Onetor as his priest and says of him — θεὸς δ' ὧς τίετο δῆμῳ (*Il.* 16. 605), a phrase which, in view of the Pelasgian practice, may be taken quite literally (see *C.R.* xvii. 277). It is clear, then, that Zeus Ἰδαῖος was an oak-god whose sacred bird was the eagle. (2) But have we a right to identify the Zeus Ἐρκείος of Priam with this Zeus Ἰδαῖος? In *Il.* 24. 283 ff. Hecuba advises Priam to pray to Zeus Ἰδαῖος (290 f. κελαινεφεί Κρονίωνι | Ἰδαίῳ) for a safe return and to ask him for an omen of his favour. Thereupon Priam standing μέσῳ ἔρκει (306), i.e. by the altar of Zeus Ἐρκείος, prays—Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδῆθεν μεδέων, κ.τ.λ. (308); and Zeus in response to his prayer sends him the omen of a black eagle (315 f., cp. *Q. Smyrn.* 1. 182 ff.). After this it is impossible to doubt that the Zeus Ἐρκείος of Priam was one with Zeus Ἰδαῖος. It follows that the Zeus worshipped by the Trojans in general and by the royal house of Priam in particular was the triple oak-Zeus of the Pelasgians.

Eust. 664, 33 had long since pointed out that the Trojans regarded the oak as sacred to Zeus. The oak (φηγός) that grew near the Scaean Gates (*Il.* 6. 237, 9. 354, 11. 170) he rightly identified (Eust. 653, 47, 664, 31, 1263, 15) with 'the fine oak (φηγῶ) of aegis-bearing Zeus,' under which Sarpedon was deposited by his companions (*Il.* 5. 692 f.)—'to be healed by his Father,' says the scholiast *ad loc.*—and on which Athena and Apollo perched in the form of eagles (*Il.* 7. 59 f., cp. 21. 549)—'sitting as they should,' adds the scholiast, 'on their Father's oak.' Eust. 515, 43 had also remarked that Φηγεύς, son of Dares (*Il.* 5. 11, 15), was 'named after the φηγοί or oaks on Mt. Ida, which were used for sacrificial purposes by his father Dares, who burnt the victims on cleft billets of oak.' Other Trojans named Phegeus are mentioned by Verg. *Aen.* 5. 263, 9. 765, 12. 371, and a

comrade of Aeneas *ib.* 10. 346 is called Dryops.

How far the cult of Zeus Ἰδαῖος was diffused, it is difficult to say. An autonomous coin of Tomi (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 54) has a bearded head as its obverse, an eagle with spread wings in an oak-wreath¹ as its reverse design. If this reverse, occurring on the coin of Scepis (*supra*), was the symbol of Zeus Ἰδαῖος, the same or at least a similar cult must have existed at Tomi. Prof. P. Gardner in his *Catalogue* describes the bearded head as 'Poseidon?': but Mr. G. F. Hill informs me that it may with equal probability be regarded as 'Zeus'; and, since other coins of Tomi show Zeus seated and holding an eagle with spread wings (*ib.* p. 56, cp. p. 63), I should prefer to interpret it in that sense. Yet other coins (*ib.* p. 55) represent a young male figure inscribed ΤΟΜΟC ΚΤΙCΤΗC. Now the cult of the oak-Zeus at Dodona was founded by Hellus the δρυτόμος. Possibly, then, this hero Τόμος was another mythical wood-cutter:² the tradition that connects the name of the town with the murder of Absyrtus (Apollod. 1. 9. 24. 2, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τομεύς, *Ov. trist.* 3. 9. 5 ff.) might well be due to some later aetiologist. In favour of my conjecture is the fact that Tomi was a colony of Miletus (*Ov. trist.* 3. 9. 3), which town was built on the spot where Neleus found and felled a superb oak-tree (schol. Call. *h. Iov.* 77). Further, there was at Tomi an Ἀργαδέων φυλή (Michel 1289); and these Ἀργαδῆς, as the Athenians called them, traced their descent from Argus the Argive eponym (*infra*), who, as I have shown, was but another form of the triple Pelasgian oak-Zeus.

Zeus in Phrygia Minor.

Cyzicus was founded by Cyzicus a king of the Thessalian Pelasgi, whom Jason and the Argonauts slew by mistake (Con. 41, Ap. Rhod. 1. 936 ff.). At the expiatory rite effigies of the dead were made of oak (Val. Fl. 3. 444 f.). The misadventure was followed by adverse winds; and, to lay them, the Argonauts wearing wreaths of

¹ Pick *die ant. Münz. v. Dacien u. Moesien* pl. 5, 7 figures a specimen, on which the eagle has closed wings, additional oak-leaves being introduced into the design.

² The word τόμοι is used of ship-timber in an inscr. (Boeckh *Urkunden* p. 412, 165). In the second cent. B.C. the priest of the Samothracian deities at Tomi had, among other duties, to provide cleft wood for the *mystae* on a particular day (Michel 704 Ἀπατου]ρεῶνος ἐβδόμη παρ[έξει τὰ ξύλα] σχίζας).

oak-leaves sacrificed on Mt. Dindymon to a *xoanon* of Rhea covered with oak-boughs (*C.R.* xvii. 408). In such a locality, where the ilex and the Valonea oak still flourish (*J.H.S.* xxii. 178), we might look to find traces of an oak-Zeus.¹ But Zeus gave Cyzicus as a dowry to Cora (App. *b. Mithr.* 75); and it is with her, not him, that the oak is there connected. On Cyzicene coins an oak-wreath occurs as reverse to a head of Cora Σώρεϊα (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Mysia p. 37 ff., pl. 9, 17; 10, 2, 3) or to a bull's head (*ib.* p. 39, pl. 10, 4, 5). A rare bronze coin of the same town (*Arch. Zeit.* 1849 pl. 10, 1), has obv. a ship's prow, rev. a bucranium enclosed by an oak-wreath. The story told by Appian, *l.c.* (cp. Porph. *de abst.* 1. 25) of the black heifer, which 'found her own way to the temple and took her place by the altar' of Cora, recalls the ritual of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος, the oak-god of Halicarnassus (*C.R.* xvii. 415 f.). A fine tetradrachm of Cyzicus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Mysia p. 38, pl. 10, 1) shows the head of a queen, probably Apollonis the Cyzicene lady who married Attalus I (Wroth *ib.* p. 38 n.), wearing an oak-wreath; also a torch etc. within a similar wreath. Probably Apollonis is here conceived in the character and with the attributes of Cora. It is known that she was deified not only after her death (at Cyzicus, *id. ib.*, cp. Anth. Pal. 3 *passim*; at Teos, Michel 499) but before it (Pauly-Wissowa ii. 164, 24 ff.).

Coins of the Abbaeti, a tribe inhabiting the borders of Mysia and Phrygia, have a laureate head of Zeus on the obverse, a winged thunderbolt within an oak-wreath on the reverse side (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Mysia, p. 1, pl. 1, 1). Other coins of the same people show a goddess wearing a *stephane* on the one side, a double-axe in an oak-wreath on the other (*ib.* p. 1, pl. 1, 3).

Zeus in Phrygia.

From Phrygia Minor we pass to Phrygia proper. Here too Zeus was connected with an oak—witness the tale of Philemon and Baucis, who received Zeus and Hermes in human form, and were metamorphosed into an oak and a lime respectively (*Ov. met.* 8, 620). Further, the Phrygian Zeus bore the title Βαγαῖος (Hesych. *s.v.* βαγαῖος), *i.e.* 'the

¹ Aeneas, the father of Cyzicus, was son of Stilbe and Apollo (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 948). The Thessalian Triopas according to some (Diod. 5. 61) was son of Stilbe and Apollo's son Lapithes. Thus the father of Cyzicus would be brother or half-brother of Triopas, whose name attests the cult of the triple oak-Zeus (*supra*).

oak-god' (Kretschmer, *Einl.* p. 81, 'von *baga, gr. φᾶγός'), with which cp. the Celtic divinities mentioned in inscriptions of the Allobroges: Dessau 4620 Iovi Baginati, 4669 Bagino et Baginatiabus. That these too were oak-deities appears from Max. Tyr. *dissert.* 8. 8 Κελτοὶ σέβουσι μὲν Δία, ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴ δρῦς. The Celtic cult was probably maintained by the Celts of Galatia, whose senate met at a place called Δρυνέμετος (Strab. 567). The Phrygian and Galatian Zeus was a sky-god; for he was also called Βροντῶν, 'the thunderer,' and stood in intimate relation to the sun (Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa iii, 891, 12 ff.). Prof. W. M. Ramsay lays stress on his chthonian character, citing a dedication at Nacoleia θεοῖς καταχθονίοις καὶ Διὶ Βροντῶντι (*J.H.S.* iii. 124) and observing that 'almost every inscription in which he is mentioned is a gravestone' (*ib.* v. 257). Hence Cumont *l.c.* concludes that Zeus Βροντῶν had 'einen himmlischen und chthonischen Charakter.' Prof. Ramsay also maintains that Zeus Βροντῶν was one with the Carian Osogo or Zenoposeidon (Marindin in *Class. Dict.* 709 b). If so, he was at once sky-god, water-god, and earth-god. Again, Zeus Βροντῶν was called πατήρ (*J.H.S.* iii. 124); and it is probable that he should be identified with the Phrygian god Πάπας (Hippol. *ref. haer.* 5, 118), cp. such inscriptions as *J.H.S.* v. 260 Διὶ Παπᾷ εὐχὴν, *C.I.G.* 3817 Παπᾷ Διὶ Σωτήρι, κ.τ.λ. But Πάπας was only another name for Ἄττις (Diod. 3. 58), which seems indeed to be derived from ἄττα as Πάπας from πάπα. On this showing Attis would be identical with the Phrygian Zeus, an equation which is expressly made by Psellus *περὶ ὀνομ.* p. 109 Boiss. ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ἄττις τῇ Φρυγίᾳ γλῶσση ὁ Ζεὺς, κ.τ.λ.

Zeus in Bithynia.

The Bithynians worshipped the same god under much the same titles. Inscriptions in honour of Zeus Βροντῶν occur in Bithynia (Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* 1111 n. 3) and 'Arrian in his account of Bithynia states that the Bithynians used to go up to the tops of the mountains and call upon Zeus as Πάπας and Ἄττις' (Eust. 565, 4 ff.). This is not to be wondered at, since the Bithynians (Hdt. 7, 75), like the Phrygians (*ib.* 73), were a Thracian tribe which had migrated from Europe into Asia. We are, then, prepared to find that the Bithynian Zeus also was connected with the oak. At Heraclea Pontica Heracles planted two oaks by the altar of Zeus Στράτιος (Plin. *hist. nat.* 16,

239). Appian (*b. Mithr.* 66 White) describes a sacrifice to this god: 'Mithridates ... offered sacrifice to Zeus Stratius on a lofty pile of wood on a high hill, according to the fashion of his country, which is as follows. First, the kings themselves carry wood to the heap. Then they make a smaller pile encircling the other one, on which they pour milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense. A banquet is spread on the ground for those present...and then they set fire to the wood. The height of the flame is such that it can be seen at a distance of 1000 stades from the sea,' etc. This description reminds one of the bonfire on the top of Cithaeron kindled once in sixty years at the Great Daedala, when the oak-brides of Zeus were burnt (Paus. 9, 3, 1 ff.). There can be little doubt that in both cases the blaze was meant to replenish the powers of a solar Zeus: the words *οἱ βασιλεῖς ξυλοφοροῦσι* express tersely the primitive duty of the oak-king (*C.R.* xvii., 185). Coins of Amaseia, the residence of the Pontic kings (Strab. 561), have been rightly interpreted as referring to this cult (Cavedoni in *Bull. Corr. Arch.* 1840 p. 70). They exhibit a large altar, sometimes of two stages and flaming. Beside it are two trees with twisted trunks. Above it in some specimens there hovers an eagle or the sun-god in his *quadriga* or both (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Pontus*, etc., p. 12, pl. 2, 6; cp. *ib.* p. xvii., pl. 2, 2-5). An example described by Mionnet (suppl. t. iv. 431 no. 79) shows a victim, perhaps a bull, lying on the altar. Again, an imperial coin of Prusa in Bithynia represents Zeus reclining on a rocky hill from which grow two oak-trees (Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* ii. 1, p. 89, pl. 9, 5). Another coin of Prusa perhaps shows the ritual of the same cult (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 197, pl. 35, 7). Caracalla, sceptre in hand, is sacrificing at an altar, which burns before a tree. That the sacrifice is to Zeus appears from the eagle hovering above the tree. The boar approaching the altar of its own accord is like the bull on a coin of Stratonicea (*C.R.* xvii. 417 Fig. 14). The resemblance between the two types suggests that at Prusa the emperor took the place, as he sometimes did, of the local sacred king. Close to Prusa ad Olympum is Cius; and from the neighbourhood of Cius comes an inscription *Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ Ἀστραπαίῳ καὶ Δήμητρὶ Καρποφόρῳ* (*B.C.H.* xvii. 540). Possibly, therefore, the second oak-tree at Prusa and at Heraclea Pontica was that of Demeter, who had sacred oaks

elsewhere (*C.R.* xvii. 180, cp. Paus. 10. 33. 12). In any case *ἀστραπαῖος* = *βροντῶν*. Zeus *βροντῶν* was sometimes paired with Hecate (*C.I.L.* vi. 733), not inappropriately since Hecate as an earth-goddess is wreathed with oak (Soph. *frag.* 480 D., Ap. Rhod. 3. 1214 and schol. *ad loc.*).

Zeus in Northern Greece.

If the Thracian tribes known to history as the Phrygians and Bithynians thus worshipped an oak-Zeus, there should be relics of the cult in Thrace itself. In point of fact the suggestive name *Δρύας* occurs more than once in the myths of Thrace and northern Greece; and in each case connexion with the oak-cult is probable. (1) It will be remembered that one Dryas, when claimant for the hand of Pallene and the kingdom of the Thracian Odomanti, was defeated in a chariot race and slain by Clitus (*C.R.* xvii. 270). The 'oak-man' killed by his rival, who thereby succeeds to the kingdom, and burnt on a great pyre (*ib.*) may well be regarded as an oak-king of the usual type.

(2) Another Dryas was brother of the Thracian king Tereus, who slew him on suspicion that he was plotting the death of Itys (Hyg. *fab.* 45). The story told how Tereus, armed with a *πέλεκυς*, also pursued Procne and Philomela on the same ground till the gods changed them all into birds—Tereus becoming a hoopoe (*ἑρπύς*), Procne a nightingale (*ἀρδών*), Philomela a swallow (*χελιδών*). A doublet to the Tereus-myth (Apollod. 3. 14. 8) is that of Polytechnus (Ant. Lib. 11), in which Polytechnus of Colophon pursues Aëdon and Chelidonis till Zeus transforms all the family into birds—Polytechnus becoming a *πελεκᾶν* because Hephaestus had given him a *πέλεκυς*, the brother of Aëdon becoming a hoopoe, etc. Now Prof. D'Arcy Thompson *Gloss. Gk. Birds* pp. 52, 56 f. has pointed out the strict parallelism between the hoopoe and the wood-pecker in ancient myth.¹ Thus Tereus the hoopoe is tantamount to Polytechnus the wood-pecker. But we have already seen (*C.R.* xvii. 412) that in Crete the name Wood-pecker was given to king

¹ *c.g.* Ael. *de nat. an.* 3. 26 makes the hoopoe release its young from a nest in the wall, which has been stopped with a patch of mud, by means of a magic herb (cp. Bochart *Hierozoicon* ed. 1796 iii. 112, Aristoph. *av.* 93, 654 f.). Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 40 tells a very similar tale of the *picus Martius*; and Dr. Frazer informs me that the wood-pecker is still credited with the same powers in continental folklore.

Minos as visible representative of an oak-Zeus (Πῦκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς), whose sacred weapon was the double-axe. The recurrence of oak and axe and wood-pecker in the Tereus-Polytechnus myth cannot be accidental. I infer that Tereus and Polytechnus were oak-kings,¹ armed with the weapon of and transformed into the birds of an oak-Zeus. When Euelpides in Aristoph. *av.* 480 spoke of Zeus as 'soon destined to restore the sceptre to the Wood-pecker,' it was no mere flight of fancy but a genuine folk-belief.

(3) A similar tale is told by Ant. Lib. 14. Dryas was the father of Munichus, king and seer of the Molossi, who had by his wife Lelante a son Alcander, a better seer than himself, and three other children. Robbers set fire to their homes; and Zeus rescued them from the flames by turning them all into birds. Lelante became a wood-pecker (πιπῳ) of the sort that chops at the oak (κόπτουσα τὴν ὀρῦν) for insects.² The 'oak-man' as father of the king, the royal seer, the woodpecker-queen, plainly belong to the same cycle of religious ideas. The Molossian kings used to sacrifice to Zeus Ἄπειος at Passaron near Dodona (Plut. *v. Pyrrh.* 5); and it is probable that Zeus Ἄπειος was akin to Zeus Στράτιος, the oak-god of Caria (*C.R.* xvii. 417) and Bithynia (*supra*).³ Indeed, Dodona itself was in Molossis (Strab. 321, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη). The first king of the Molossi was Phaethon, who entered Epirus along with Pelasgus (Plut. *v. Pyrrh.* 1); and a head of the sun-god figures on coins of the Molossian prince Alexander i. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Thessaly, etc. p. 110, pl. 20, 2, 5). Coins of Epirus show the Dodonaean Zeus wearing an oak-wreath and sometimes accompanied by Dione (fig. 2 = *ib.* p. 89,

pl. 17, 5). When the Molossian princes became kings of Epirus, they adopted similar designs (*ib.* p. 110, pl. 20, 3



FIG. 3.

Alexander i. : fig. 3 = *ib.* p. 111, pl. 20, 10 Pyrrhus).

(4) But I have yet to prove that the deity represented by Δρύας in northern Greece was threefold, comprising the characteristics of sky-god, water-god, and earth-god. This appears from a very singular myth preserved most fully by Lact. *Plac. ad Stat. Theb.* 7. 256. A pious man named Pelargus or Pelasgus hospitably entertained Jupiter, Neptune, and Mercury. They offered to grant him a wish. Being childless, he desired a son. 'Minxerunt ergo numina' into the hide of an ox which their host had sacrificed to the gods. This they bade him bury in the earth and dig up after nine months. From it sprang Orion ('ex urina nomen accepit'), who attempted to seduce Diana. The same authority elsewhere (*ad Stat. Theb.* 9. 843) states that the son of Orion was called Dryas, and adds inconsistently that Dryas was the son of Neptune, Jupiter, and Mercury, and hence bore on his armour the insignia of two gods (*ad Stat. Theb.* 9. 856). According to others, the putative parents of Orion were Hyrieus son of Poseidon and Alcyone daughter of Atlas (Palaeph. 5), or Hyrieus and Clonia (Apollod. 3. 10. 1, Tzetz. *ad Lyc.* 328). The scene of the myth is usually laid in Boeotia (schol. *Il.* 18. 486, schol. *Od.* 5. 121, Palaeph. 5, Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 96 ff.), but once in Thrace (Hyg. *fab.* 195). Tzetzes' version *l.c.* mentions as the three gods Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo (not Hermes): in either case they were sky-god, water-god, and earth-god. In the 'oak-man' thus sprung from Zeus + Poseidon + Hermes (or Apollo) in the home of Pelasgus

Zeus p. 209, Münzt. 3, 11): the former I have identified with a tree-god (*C.R.* xvii. 271 ff.); the latter was presumably related to the Carian oak-Zeus (*ib.* p. 415 ff.).



FIG. 2.

¹ As such they would pass for Zeus. This may underlie the statement that Polytechnus and Aëdon impiously claimed to love each other more fondly than Zeus and Hera (Ant. Lib. 11).

² Cp. Aristot. *hist. an.* 614a 35, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 480, and the passages cited in *C.R.* xvii. 412.

³ Zeus Ἄπειος occurs also at Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 6) and at Iasos in Caria (Overbeck *Kunstmyth.*

I find a clear trace of the triple Pelasgian oak-Zeus.

(5) Lycurgus, king of the Thracian Edones (Soph. *Ant.* 956, *alib.*), was probably another oak-king. His weapon is the βουπλήξ or double-axe (*Il.* 6. 135). He is a man and yet a god (Eur. *Rhes.* 971 ff. ἀνθρωποδαίμων . . . σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός). Above all, he is the son of one Dryas (*Il.* 6. 130, *alib.*) and the father of another Dryas, whom he slew with an axe (πελέκει), mistaking him for a vine (Apollod. 3. 5. 1). The whole story of his opposition to Dionysus gains fresh point, if we may assume a conflict between the old oak-cult and the new vine-cult. Lycurgus, son of Dryas, pursuing with a βουπλήξ the nurses of Dionysus on Mt. Nysa (*Il.* 6. 130 ff.) has an exact parallel in Butes the Thracian, brother of Lycurgus son of Boreas, pursuing the nurses of Dionysus on Δρύος, the 'Oak Mt.' in S. Thessaly (Diod. 5. 50).¹ As an oak-king, Lycurgus would be responsible for the fertility of the land and in time of drought might even be put to death. Dr. Frazer *G. B.*² i. 158f. draws attention to Apollod. 3.5. 1: 'When the land remained barren, the god delivered an oracle that it would be fruitful, if Lycurgus were put to death. Hereupon the Edoni took him to Mt. Pangaeum and bound him. There he perished according to the will of Dionysus, destroyed by horses.' The manner of his death recalls that of Hippolytus-Virbius (*G. B.*² i. 6, ii. 313 ff.) and strengthens my contention that Lycurgus was an oak-king.

(6) Of Dryas the Lapith, the associate of Ixion (δρύς and ἱξός), I have already spoken (*C. R.* xvii. 420).

(7) Yet another Dryas was the brother of Meleager present at the Calydonian hunt (Apollod. 1. 8. 2, Hyg. *fab.* 173). They

¹ Ultimately a compromise was effected between the oak-cult and the vine-cult. In an inscr. from Thessalonica (*B. C. H.* xxiv. 322) a priestess of Πρωτόφορος, the Bearer of the Evergreen-oak, who speaks of herself as θύσα and εὐεία, leaves certain vineyards to her θίασος, the πρωτόφοροι: if the conditions of the bequest are not fulfilled, the property is to go to another θίασος, that of the δροιοφόροι or Oak-bearers. Coins of Thessalonica have a wreath of oak-leaves enclosing the word ΘΕΞΞΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Macedonia, etc. pp. 108, 113 f.) or of ivy enclosing a bunch of grapes (*ib.* p. 109). Tzetzes in *Lyc.* 212 read Φηγαλεύς, not Φιγαλεύς, as the epithet of Dionysus, cp. Eust. 664, 48 ὁ Φηγαλεύς Διόνυσος τῇ φηγῷ παρωνυμῆσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀναδενδράδας ἀμπέλους. The Bacchantes in the neighbourhood of Dryoscephalae (*C. R.* xvii. 270) wear wreaths of oak (Eur. *Bacch.* 703 cp. 110, 685, 1103).

both came from Calydon, a town which was personified as a nymph φηγῷ ἐστεμμένη (Philostr. *lun. imm.* 4). The mistletoe-bearing oak seems to have played some part in the myth of Meleager; for Sophocles in a fragment of his *Meleager* (354 b Dind.) mentions ἱσοφόρους δρύας. Now Dr. Frazer *G. B.*² iii. 446 ff. has made out a strong case for the mistletoe as a plant containing the external life of the oak-hero. Is it overbold to conjecture that the brand which contained the external life of Meleager was of mistletoe or mistletoe-bearing oak?² Another oak-and-mistletoe hero seems to be Caeneus, whose myth is not unlike that of Balder. The Centaurs struck at him with oaks and firs (schol. *Il.* 1. 264, Eust. 101, 10 ff.), since he could not be wounded with iron but only with tree-trunks (Hyg. *fab.* 14). Ov. *met.* 12. 470 ff. states that they tried to bury him beneath a huge pile of oaks, from which a bird with yellow wings and loud scream was seen to issue. He calls the assailants of Caeneus 'Ixione natos' (*ib.* 504), sons of the Mistletoe; and Ion in his *Phoenix* or *Caeneus* δρύος ἰδρώτα εἴρηκε τὸν ἱξόν (Athen. 45 D). Texts and monuments are further discussed by Seeliger in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 894 ff. and by Prof. E. Gardner in *J. H. S.* xvii. 294 ff. pl. 6.

The ship Argo was built of timber resembling that of the mistletoe-bearing oak (Plin. *n. h.* 13. 119). It is usually described as pine (reff. in Pauly-Wissowa ii. 721); but Val. Flacc. 1. 95 speaks of 'oaks,' and the grammarians of a special wood ἀργώ (Hesych. *s. v.*, schol. Opp. *cyn.* 1. 28, cp. *et. mag.* 136, 29). Argus the ship-wright must be identified with Argus the Argive eponym; for he wears the bull's-hide of the Argive hero (Ap. Rhod. 1. 324, Hyg. *fab.* 14), is himself called 'Argivus' (Hyg. *fab.* 14), and is sometimes said to have built the vessel at Argos (Hegesand. *ap. Tzetz.* *Lyc.* 883, Hegesipp. *ap. et. mag.* 136, 32, schol. rec. Theocr. 13. 21). But Argus the Argive eponym was, as we have seen (*supra*), only another name for the triple Pelasgian Zeus.³ It follows that the Argo was the ship of Zeus and derived its name

² According to Tzetz. *Lyc.* 492, Malalas 6. 209, Althaea had eaten a spray of olive before Meleager's birth and borne it along with him: on this his life depended. The olive was elsewhere a substitute for the oak (*C. R.* xvii. 273).

³ 'Αργος, the 'Bright' one, obviously corresponds in meaning to Ζεύς, the 'Bright' one; cp. Ζεύς ἀργής (Emped. 160), Ζεύς ἀργικέραυνος (*Il.* 19. 121, *alib.*). The word ἀργής denoted 'a thunderbolt,' and 'Αργής was a Cyclops who forged thunderbolts for Zeus (Eust. 906, 46; 1528, 35).

from that fact. This explains why a fragment of Dodonaean oak was built into her (Tzetz. Lyc. 1319, *alib.*): Zeus must be aboard his own vessel to direct her course. It is commonly stated that the trees of which the Argo was built grew on Mt. Pelion (Hdt. 4. 179, *alib.*). The summit of the mountain boasted a sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκραῖος, to which in the heat of summer, when the dog-star appeared, came a procession of young men, chosen by the priest from the best families at Demetrias and clad in fresh ram-skins (Dicaearch. 2. 8). Now we have already found the title Ἀκραῖοι θεοὶ applied to Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades at Mitylene (*supra*). Further, the oak-woods of Pelion are mentioned by Ov. *fast.* 5. 382, Val. Flacc. 1. 95; it was in an oak on Pelion that Asclepius nurtured his snake (Nic. *ther.* 439, Eutecn. *ad loc.*, cp. Apollod. 1. 9. 11)¹; and the northern summit is still 'clothed with oaks' (Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 569). Not improbably, therefore, the cult of Zeus on Pelion was that of the triple Pelasgian oak-god. Again, the Argo went in quest of the golden fleece, which had been stripped from the ram sacrificed by Phrixus to Zeus Λαφύστιος (Paus. 1. 24. 2, schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 653) or Φύγιος, and nailed to an oak in Colchis (Apollod. 1. 9. 1, 16). Phrixus was the son of Athamas, and the whole Phrixus-myth is bound up with the ritual of the Athamantidae (Pauly-Wissowa ii. 1929 ff.), which furnishes one of the clearest examples of a priestly-king sacrificed as soon as his fertilising powers decay (Frazer *G.B.* ii. 34 ff., *Paus.* v. 172 f.). Note that in Athamania also there was a cult of Jupiter *Aeraeus* on a height named Aethiopia, which commanded the capital Argithæa (Liv. 38. 2).

The Ἀργεῖοι, the kingly clan of Macedonia, appear to have come from the district of Ἄργος Ὀρεστικόν (App. *Syr.* 63), though for political reasons the Macedonian monarchs claimed descent from the Temenidae of the Peloponnesian Argos (Hdt. 8. 137, Thuc. 2. 99). At Αἰγαί or Αἰγῆαι was 'the hearth of the Macedonian kingdom' (Diod. *exc.* p. 563, 31); and here the Macedonian kings were buried (Plin. *n.h.* 4. 33, *alib.*) along with much treasure (Diod. *l.c.*, Plut. *v. Pyrrh.* 26). Their funeral games (Diod. 19. 52) included a μονομαχία (Athen. 155A). 'Populus Pelasgi' says Just. 7. 1. 3; and it is very possible that the Argead kings were representatives of the Pelasgian oak-god. This would square with the honours

paid to Zeus at Dium by Archelaus (Diod. 17. 16) and Alexander (Arr. *an.* 1. 16), with Alexander's claim to be the son of Zeus, if not Zeus himself (*C.R.* xvii. 404), and with the type of the Dodonaean Zeus on coins of Macedonia in genere (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 13). The oak-wreath surrounding a club, which occurs so often on Macedonian coins (*ib.* pp. 7, 8, 14, 16, 17, etc.) is probably the symbol of Heracles, not Zeus. Oak-deities were long-lived in Macedonia: the peasant still dreads the *Drymiais* in spring as wood-nymphs, in autumn as water-nymphs (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* p. 63 f.).

In Thessaly too an oak-crowned Zeus appears on the coins (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Thessaly, etc. p. 1 ff., pl. 1, 1), and there are legends of oak-kings. Triopas king of Dotium and Triopas king of the Perrhaebians I have already mentioned (*supra*). At Phylace in Phthiotis there was a sacred oak into which Phylacus, the eponymous king of the place, had thrust his knife when gelding rams (Apollod. 1. 9. 12). The sacred oak, the royal guardian (φυλακός), the knife sticking in the tree, the rams, are all traits that suggest the cult of an oak-Zeus; and it is noteworthy that Deïon, the father of Phylacus, was the brother of Athamas (Apollod. 1. 7. 3).

Zeus in Central Greece.

Dryops, the eponym of the Dryopians, was father of the river-god Peneus (Pherecyd. *ap. schol.* Ap. Rhod. 1. 1213), or son of the river-god Spercheus and the Danaid Polydora (Ant. Lib. 32), or son of the Arcadian Lycaon and Dia (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1218), or son of Apollo and Dia daughter of Lycaon (Paus. 4. 34. 11, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1283, *et. mag.* 288, 34, Tzetz. Lyc. 480)—variants which correspond to successive abodes of the Dryopians on their southward migration.² As an infant, Dryops had been hidden by Dia in the trunk of an oak (Tzetz. Lyc. 480). Since δρυόψ means 'a wood-pecker' (Aristoph. *av.* 304), Prof. D'Arcy Thompson plausibly conjectures that 'the Dryopes were probably, like the descendants of Picus, a Woodpecker-tribe' (*Gloss. Gk. Birds* p. 52). The Dryopians are said to have called the gods πόποι (Tzetz. Lyc. 943, Plut. *de aud. poem.* 22c, schol. *Od.* 1. 32), as did the Scythians their

² Δρυονίς was subsequently named Δαρίς (Hdt. 8. 31), the 'Oak-land' (Schrader *Reallex.* p. 164); so that the importance of the oak in Central Greece is incontestable. Indeed, one great division of the Greek race, the Dorians, derived their name from it.

¹ Cp. the species termed δρυῖνας or δρύϊνος (Steph. *Thes. s.v.*).

underground images (*et. mag.* 823, 31, Herodian. *ap. Theognost. can.* 158, 14). Prof. W. M. Ramsay (*J.H.S.* iii. 124) connects the word with the Phrygian and Bithynian Πάπας and the Scythian Zeus Παπαῖος (Eust. 565, 7). If this connexion is sound, it is probable that the Dryopians, like the Phrygians and Bithynians, worshipped an oak-Zeus.

Another woodpecker-king was Celeus. Celeus was a Cretan transformed by Zeus into a green wood-pecker (κελεύς) for stealing honey from his cave in Crete (Ant. Lib. 19). Another Celeus was the early king at Eleusis, who received Demeter into his house (*h. Cer.* 96 ff.) and bade the people build her a temple (*ib.* 296 ff.). He invented the Prytaneum (Plut. *symp.* 4. 4. 1), and used to bring home 'acorns and bramble-berries, and dry faggots for his hearth' (Ov. *fast.* 4. 509 f.)—doubtless a *έστία* such as oak-kings had elsewhere. Ascalabus of Eleusis, for mocking at Demeter, was changed by her into a spotted lizard (ἀσκάλαβος Ant. Lib. 24, *alib.*), an animal whose tree-climbing habits Aristotle compares with those of the δρυκολάπτης (*h. an.* 614 b 4, *de mir. ausc.* 831 b 6). The mysteries were imported from Eleusis into Andania, where they were celebrated in an oak-grove (Paus. 4. 1. 5 f.). And the boy who at Athenian weddings pronounced the Eleusinian formula *ἐφ' ὃν κακόν, ἡδ' ὃν ἄμεινον* was wreathed with oak and thorn (Hesych. *s.v.*). Probably, therefore, Demeter had once at Eleusis, as elsewhere (*C.R.* xvii. 180), sacred oaks. Further evidence is wanting, unless indeed we may venture to regard Triptolemus son of Celeus as a representative of the triple god.¹

We come next to Athens. Ael. *v.h.* 5. 17 states that, if any one cut down a young evergreen oak from a *heroön*, the Athenians used to put him to death. From this I infer that one or more Athenian heroes

¹ Triptolemus crossed the world in his car 'borne aloft through the sky' (Apollod. 1. 5. 2). The car was borrowed by Antheas, who fell off and was killed (Paus. 7. 18. 3). This certainly recalls Phaethon and the solar car. Triptolemus was sometimes said to be the son of Oceanus and Ge (Pherecyd. *ap. Apollod.* 1. 5. 2); and was often regarded as a judge in the Underworld (Plat. *ap.* 41A. Preller-Robert p. 770 n. 3). An Argive legend made him the brother of Eubuleus, son of Trochilus 'the Wren' a priest of the mysteries at Argos (Paus. 1. 14. 2). Thus he had connexions with sky, sea, and earth. The shape of his car, a wheeled seat, invites comparison with the *sella curulis*, which was originally a chariot (Gell. 3. 18. 4, *alib.*, cp. Babelon *Monn. de la Rép.* ii. 532) used to prevent the sacrosanct person from contact with the ground (cp. Frazer *G.B.*² iii. 202 f.).

were connected with the oak.² But who? Possibly the old kings of Athens. Strab. 321 gives as samples of 'barbaric' (*i.e.* Dryopian, Pelasgian, etc.) names Cecrops, Codrus, Aelcus, Cothus, Drymas, Crinacus. The first four of these belong to the genealogy of Athenian kings; the last one to that of Boeotian kings: so that Drymas, who is otherwise unknown, was in all probability an Athenian or Boeotian hero. However, there is better evidence for supposing that Athens had at one time oak-kings. Lycus, son of Pandion, when driven from Athens by his brother Aegeus, took with him the cult of the Great Goddesses and established it at Andania in the Λύκων δρυμός, an oak-coppice named after him (Paus. 4. 1. 6, 4. 2. 6): he was a seer and the founder of the Lycomidae (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2186). Aegeus too may have had some connexion with the oak; for he gave Theseus a sail stained red with oak-dye to hoist if he returned in safety from Crete (Simon. *ap. Plut.* v. *Thes.* 17 φουνίκεον ιστίον ὑγρῷ πεφρυμένον πρίνου ἀνθει ἐριθάλλον). Neleus, son of Codrus,³ when he led a colony from Athens, was bidden by an oracle to make an image of Artemis from a very fruitful tree. Having found a very fruitful oak at Miletus, he made an image of the goddess from it and there built his town (schol. Call. *h. Iov.* 77).⁴ Finally, Lyc. 1378 speaks of Codrus himself as *ἀνακτος τοῦ δρυηκόπου* because, when he devoted his life for his country, he dressed as a woodman (Tzetz. *ad loc.*); cp. Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 193 f. δ γνοῦς ὁ Κόδρος καὶ στολὴν ἀψάμενος δρυτόμου | πελέκει Λάκωνά τινα κτείνας ἀνταναίρειται. If the last of the Athenian kings on so solemn an occasion appeared as an oak-cutter armed with an axe, we may be sure that this was no mere disguise but the ancient ritual costume of an oak-king.

Athens, then, had her oak-kings: but we have yet to prove that they were the priestly representatives of a triple Zeus. In their old palace, the Erechtheum, stood three altars—one of Poseidon, on which they sacrifice also to Erechtheus in obedience to an oracle; one of the hero Butes; and one

² Bötticher *Baumkultus* p. 75, fig. 63, published a 'hero-relief' from Athens, which represents a young warrior standing beside his horse and feeding a large snake coiled round an oak-tree. On the tree are perched two small birds (wood-peckers?). It is also decked with armour (sword, spear, shield, breast-plate). A boy approaches with a helmet in one hand and a palm-branch in the other. In the background is a pillar supporting a vase.

³ On the cult of Codrus in the *temenos* of Neleus and Basile (Ditt.² 550) see Kern in Pauly-Wissowa iii. 41 f.

See further *C.R.* xvii. 415.

of Hephaestus' (Paus. 1. 26. 5). (1) Poseidon's 'sea' on the Acropolis is compared by Paus. 1. 26. 5 to that at Aphrodisias, a town where the cult of a triple oak-Zeus seems to have flourished (*C.R.* xvii. 416): note also the 'place called Πέλαγος which is full of oaks' adjoining the sanctuary of Poseidon Ἰππιος on the road from Mantinea to Tegea (Paus. 8. 11. 1). (2) Butes can hardly be separated from the βουφόνια yearly performed on the Athenian Acropolis: indeed Hesychius expressly interprets Βούτης as ὁ τοῖς Διῦπολοις τὰ βουφόνια δρῶν. The βουφόνια were sacrifices to Zeus Πολιεὺς (Paus. 1. 24. 4, 1. 28. 10, schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985), and their peculiar ritual resembled in several points that of the oak-Zeus. Oxen were driven round the altar and the ox that tasted the cakes upon it was slaughtered (Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30): exactly the same thing was done with goats at Halicarnassus in the cult of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος (*C.R.* xvii. 415 f.). The axe figured largely in the Athenian rite, being left on the spot by the βουφόνος and afterwards tried (Paus. 1. 24. 4, 1. 28. 10) at the Court in the Prytaneum (Paus. 1. 28. 10) and sunk in the sea (Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30): the axe was almost everywhere a feature of the oak-cult, and the special circumstance of an axe 'left on the spot' recurs at Dodona (*C.R.* xvii. 409) and at Dotium (*supra*). The flight of the βουφόνος (Paus. 1. 24. 4, 1. 28. 10, cp. Porph. *de abst.* 2. 29, schol. *Il.* 18. 483) also has parallels in the oak-cults of Italy (Frazer *G.B.*² ii. 67). It is probable, therefore, that Butes 'the oxman' was originally the priestly-king of an oak-Zeus. This agrees well with the legend of Butes pursuing the Bacchantes on the Oak-mountain in Thessaly (*supra*): Wernicke has shown the essentially Attic character of that legend (Pauly-Wissowa iii. 1082). (3) The third altar in the Erechtheum was that of Hephaestus, who in the extremely archaic Athenian myth (Apollod. 3. 14.6 *alib.*) was the father of Erichthonius ὁ γηγενής (Eur. *Ion.* 20). It appears, then, that the three altars in the Erechtheum attest the cult of Poseidon, Zeus, and a chthonian deity.

Further, it is probable that these three were but diverse forms of Zeus. Poseidon's title Ἐρεχθεύς (*C.I.A.* i. 387, iii. 276, 805, Plut. *vit. X or.* 843 B, C, Hesych. *s.v.*) was by some regarded as a title of Zeus (schol. Lyc. 158 τὸ δὲ Ἐρεχθεύς τινὲς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἤκουσαν). Again, Butes, the representative of Zeus Πολιεὺς, was the ancestor of the Eteobutadae, who were the hereditary priests of

Poseidon Ἐρεχθεύς (reff. in Pauly-Wissowa iii. 1080). And rightly so; for Zeus on the Acropolis was a rain-god (Paus. 1. 24. 3), a πορεΐ-Δας. Lastly, Hephaestus is armed with the βουπλήξ, when he cleaves the head of Zeus for the birth of Athena (*et. mag.* 371, 41, *app. narr.* Westerm. p. 360, 3). Indeed, Hephaestus, the celestial smith, is beyond doubt (see Roscher *Lex.* i. 2047 ff.) a god of thunder and lightning, like Zeus himself. As such, he would naturally be connected with the oak. A well-known relief in the Vatican (Roscher *ib.* 2046) shows him leaning on a maiden wreathed with acorns, etc. And a Cretan coin already figured (*C.R.* xvii. 413) identifies him with Zeus as an oak-god: for Zeus Φελχάνος is Vulcanus, the Italian Hephaestus¹; and Zeus Φελχάνος is seated in an oak. The tradition (Cinaethon *ap.* Paus. 8. 53. 5) that Hephaestus was the son of Talos again connects him with an oak-Zeus (*C.R.* xvii. 406). So does his title Δαίδαλος (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 59, Eur. *Hev. fur.* 471, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. F 269: see Pauly-Wissowa iv. 1995 f.); cp. the Δαίδαλος of Crete and the Δαίδαλα of Plataea (*C.R.* xvii. 412). I suggest, then, that in the three altars of Poseidon, Butes, and Hephaestus, which were preserved in the Erechtheum down to the second century of our era, we have an indication that the early kings of Athens worshipped the triple Pelasgian oak-Zeus. The altar inscribed Διὶ Ναῖῳ, which was found to the west of the Erechtheum (*C.R.* xvii. 186), was indeed appropriately placed.

My argument is supported by the fact that the old oath prescribed on the wooden pillars of Solon was an oath by the τρεῖς θεοί (Hesych. *s.v.*), who, if Pollux is right, were a triad of Zeuses: Poll. 8. 142 τρεῖς θεοὺς ὀμνύναι κελεύει Σόλων, ἱεσίον καθάρσιον ἐξακεστήρα. Since these pillars (ἄξονες) were kept for centuries in the Prytaneum and stone copies of them (κύρβεις) in the Stoa Basileios (Busolt *Gr. Gesch.*² ii. 290 ff.), it is highly probable that the oath was that of the old Athenian kings. The position thus accorded to Zeus as the supreme god of early Athens agrees with the importance attached to the Diasia in the time of Cylon (Thuc. 1. 126). For the Diasia² was a festival of Zeus Μελίσσιος, a chthonian

¹ The coin representing Zeus Φελχάνος is a coin of Φαιστός. Does this fact throw any light on the derivation of the puzzling name Ἡφαίστος? It is at least a singular coincidence.

² The name is probably a lengthened form of Δία, on the analogy—as Mr. P. Giles has suggested—of Διονύσια. There was a festival Δία at Teos (Michel 1318): cp. the Athenian Πανδία.

form of Zeus (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2558 ff.¹) regarded as one with Zeus Μαιμάκτης and Zeus Καθάριος (Hesych. μαιμάκτης· μελίχιος· καθάριος), i.e. as a threefold Zeus. That Zeus Μελίχιος was at once storm-god (= sky-god) and earth-god is generally admitted: that he was also a water-god appears from an Attic relief, which shows him seated on the head of Acheloüs (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2559). At Sicyon he was represented by a stone pyramid (Paus. 2. 9. 6), probably a three-sided block (so Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 221, cp. the Zeuses of Mallus, Tarsus, etc.: De Visser *de Gr. diis* p. 45, Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1520) like the *τριγώνω στήλη* that Pindar set up beside the altar of Zeus Ἄμμων inscribed with his hymn to that deity (Paus. 9. 16. 1). The comparison suggests that the Athenian κύρβεις, which, to judge from the extant fragment of one (*C.I.A.* iv. 2. 559), were three-sided prisms of stone, simply copied the primitive idols of the triple Zeus. If so, they naturally enjoined the oath by the *τρεις θεοί*. Again, of the four ancient Athenian tribes one, the Γελέοντες, certainly stood in some relation to Zeus, cp. *C.I.A.* iii. 2 Δὼς Γελέοντος ἱεροκήρυξ; another, the Ὀπλητες, may have done so, cp. Zeus Ὀπλόσμιος in Caria and Arcadia (Preller-Robert p. 141, n. 2); a third, the Αἰγυκορῆς, very possibly denoted the 'sons of the Oak' (cp. αἰγίλωψ, αἰγίς, *Eiche*, etc.); while the fourth, the Ἀργαδῆς, seems to have traced its descent from Argus the Argive eponym (Maass in *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1889, ii. 107 f.), who was none other than the triple Pelasgian Zeus (*supra*).

But, it will be objected, there were no oaks on the Acropolis. True: but Theophrastus in a list of trees that thrive on high ground mentions, along with various species of oak, a nut known as the 'acorn of Zeus' or 'royal' nut (*ap.* Macrobian. *Sat.* 3. 18. 4 *καρύα, ἣ καὶ Διὸς βάλανος*. hanc Graeci etiam basilicam vocant, cp. Theophr. *h. pl.* 3. 3. 1). When, therefore, we find worked into the south porch of the Erechtheum six figures called *Καρυάτιδες* (Athen. 241 E, Vitruv. 1. 1. 5), it seems probable that they represent Nut-maidens (cp. Artemis *Καρυάτις* Paus. 3. 10. 7, Hesych. *s.v.*), the nymphs of a quondam nut-grove, which did duty for an oak-grove as the abode of Zeus

and his royal representative. 'Nuces,' says Servius, 'in tutela sunt Iovis: unde et *iuglandes* vocantur, quasi Iovis glandes' (Serv. *buc.* 8. 30, cp. Cloatius Verus *ap.* Macrobian. *l.c.* '*iuglans*...quasi *Diuglans*'). Conversely acorns are called nuts in Eubul. *ap.* Athen. 52 B *φηγούς, κάρνα Καρύστια*. On the sacred tree utilised as a pillar of the house see Mr. A. Evans in *J.H.S.* xxi. 143 ff., 156 ff., 186 ff.: perhaps the closest analogy to the Caryatides of the Erechtheum is offered by the *Nymphae Querquetulanae*, who support a transverse beam on coins of the gens Accoleia (Babelon *Monn. de la Rép.* i. 100). Now at Dodona there were six nymphs, who were said to have been the nurses of Zeus (Hyg. *fab.* 182), though others explained that Zeus had given them Dionysus to tend (schol. *Il.* 18. 486). The six Caryatides at Athens may well have been a similar group of nymphs, 'nurses' of the oak-Zeus. The nurses of Dionysus are regularly called *τιθῆναι*, and Plut. *symp.* 3. 9. 2 uses the same word of the nurses of Zeus. This, I believe, gives us a clue to the meaning of Ἀθήναι. I take it that **ἀ-θήνη*, like *τι-θήνη*, was a strengthened form of the root that appears in Hesych. *θήνιον· γάλα*.² The *ἀθήναι* or 'nurses' of Zeus were a prominent feature of the Acropolis, and they gave their name to the town built about it. Athena in turn took her name (*Ἀθηναία, Ἀθηναία, Ἀθηνᾶ*) from Athens (*Ἀθήναι*), not Athens from Athena. A parallel case is perhaps that of Ἀθήναι *Διάδες* in Euboea; for on the mountain above it Heracles sacrificed to Zeus *Κήναιος* and fed the flame *ἀπὸ πειράς δρυός* (Soph. *Trach.* 766), and in the near neighbourhood was the district *Δρυμός* (Strab. 445).

Oaks must at one time have been common in Attica, as is shown by the deme-names *Φηγαία* (belonging to the tribes *Αἰγυγίς* and *Πανδιονίς*), *Φηγούς* (belonging to the *Ἐρεχθίδης*), *Δρυαχαρνέϊς* (Zonaras p. 569, *alib.*), by the town *Δρυμός* (Dem. 446), by the island *Αἴγωνα* (*C.R.* xvii. 405), by the *Σαρωνικός κόλπος* (*σαρωνίς*=old oak: Plin. *n. h.* 4. 9 *sinus Saronicus, olim querno nemore redimitus, unde nomen, ita Graecia antiquitus appellante quercum*), etc. When they gradually disappeared, and were replaced by more profitable trees, Zeus, as at Olympia (*C.R.* xvii. 273), took over the olive in place of the oak. The thunderbolt-god Zeus *Καταιβάτης* became Zeus *Μόριος* guardian of the *μορίαί ἐλαίαι* (schol. Soph. *O.C.* 705), in

¹ Miss Harrison in her interesting chapter on 'The Diasia' (*Prolegomena* p. 12 ff.) regards the cult of Zeus as grafted upon that of an ancient serpent-deity Meilichios: but she admits that any educated Greek of the fifth century B.C. would have said 'Zeus Meilichios is Zeus in his underworld aspect—Zeus-Hades.'

² Eust. 83, 25 Ἀθήνη . . . οἶνετ' ἀλήθη τις οὔσα ὥς μὴ θηλάσασα hits upon a somewhat similar etymology. I owe the passage to Miss Harrison.

which the 'external' life of the Athenians was probably thought to reside (cp. the olive-spray in the story of Meleager: *supra*). Hence we hear of the ἀσπὴ ἐλαία (Poll. 9. 17, *alib.*), of the sacred oil used for the perpetual lamp in the Erechtheum (Plut. *v. Num.* 9) and awarded to successful athletes at the Panathenaea (schol. Soph. *O.C.* 705). The same transition appears in the myth of Halirrhothius, son of Poseidon, who in attempting to cut down Athena's olive decapitated himself with his axe (schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 1006, Serv. *georg.* 1. 18), just as Lycurgus son of Dryas hewed off his own leg with an axe in attempting to cut down a vine (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2194). But the memory of the old regal cult died hard. When the comedians hailed Pericles as Zeus (Plut. *v. Per.* 3, 13), they gave voice to the immemorial belief that the strong man of the day was Zeus incarnate (*C.R.* xvii. 277 f.); and one of them, Plato, spoke of oaks as 'royal' trees (Hesych. *s.v.* ἀρχονίδας). The Pandia indeed was soon thrown into the shade by the Panathenaea: but it is instructive to note that even at the Panathenaea a freedman or barbarian was expected to carry a branch of oak (Bekk. *an.* 242, 3 δρὺν φέρειν διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς), presumably in token that he was acting as a genuine son of Athens (cp. the δροισφόροι of Thessalonica, *supra*).

Zeus in Southern Greece.

When the Heraclidae returned to the Peloponnese, an oracle was given them that they should take as their guide τὸν τριόφθαλμον. On the suggestion of Cresphontes they followed a man driving a mule, which was blind of one eye. This man was Oxylus, to whom they promised the land of Elis as his reward (Paus. 5. 3. 5 f.). A very similar tale is told by Apollod. 2. 8. 3 and Suid. *s.v.* τριόφθαλμος. Apollodorus adds that, on gaining possession of the Peloponnese, the Heraclidae built three altars to Zeus Πατρώος and cast lots for Argos, Lacedaemon, and Messene (2. 8. 4). Now the three-eyed Zeus of Argos was said to have been the Zeus Πατρώος of Priam (Paus. 2. 24. 3). We are thus led to enquire whether Oxylus too was an oak-king, the representative of a triple Zeus. Strab. 354 states that the Olympic contest was founded by Oxylus and his Aetolians: Ephorus (*ap.* Strab. 357 f., cp. Pind. *Ol.* 3. 12, Paus. 5. 8. 5, 5. 9. 4), that Oxylus took charge of the Olympic cult and consecrated the land of Elis to Zeus. But I have already shown

that the kings of Elis were incarnations of an oak-Zeus (*C.R.* xvii. 271 ff.). In the case of Oxylus this connexion with the oak is particularly clear. His name means 'Woodman': Hesych. ὄξυλον . . . ισόξυλον, cp. also the ξυλεύς at Olympia (*C.R.* xvii. 181). Of his tomb Paus. 6. 24. 9 says: 'In the market-place of Elis I saw another structure: it was in the form of a temple, low, without walls, the roof being supported by *oaken* pillars. The natives agree that it is a tomb, but do not remember whose it is. If the old man whom I questioned spoke the truth, it is the tomb of Oxylus.' Oxylus' son Andraimon married *Dryope*, the oak-maiden (Ant. Lib. 32). Phereclus, the epic poet of Heraclea, spoke of another Oxylus who became by *Hamadryas* the father of the nymphs Karya, *Balanos*, Kraneios, Orea (? Morea), *Aigeiros*, Ptelea, Ampelos, Syke (Athen. 78B). L. Weniger in Roscher *Lex.* iii. 1236, 66 ff. says of Oxylus the Aetolian: 'Manches in dem ihm umgebenden Sagengewebe deutet auf einen solarischen Heros.' Not without reason, if I am right in supposing him to have been the priestly-king of an oak-Zeus.

The principal Zeus-cult of the Peloponnese was that on Mt. Lycaeus in Arcadia. Pausanias, who gives the best account of it, says (8. 38. 6 f. Frazer): 'There is a precinct of Lycaean Zeus on the mountain and people are not allowed to enter it; but if any one disregards the rule and enters, he cannot possibly live more than a year. It is also said that inside the precinct all creatures, whether man or beast, cast no shadows. . . On the topmost peak of the mountain there is an altar of Lycaean Zeus in the shape of a mound of earth. . . In front of the altar, on the east, stand two pillars, on which there used formerly to be gilded eagles. On this altar they offer secret sacrifices to Lycaean Zeus, but I did not care to pry into the details of the sacrifice. Be it as it is and has been from the beginning.' Again (*ib.* 5), 'On Lycaeus there is a sanctuary of Pan, and round about it a grove of trees; also there is a hippodrome, and in front of it a stadium. Here of old they celebrated the Lycaean games. Here, too, are bases of statues, but the statues are no longer there: an elegiac inscription on one of the bases states that the statue was that of Astyanax, and that he was of the stock of Arcas.' Lastly (*ib.* 10), 'The river at Mt. Lycaeus is the third river that bears the name of Achelous.' Now it is in Arcadia, if anywhere, that we should expect to find parallels to the cult

of a Pelasgian Zeus. And in point of fact we are not disappointed. Zeus Λυκαῖος in several respects challenges comparison with Zeus Νάϊος. To begin with, on Mt. Lycaeus Zeus was reared by three nymphs, of whom two at least were water-nymphs (Paus. 8. 38. 3), just as at Dodona he had three Naiad-nymphs for nurses (Hyg. 182). Next, in both places he seems¹ to have had the same partner; for at Lycosura, high on the slope of Mt. Lycaeus, was a famous sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter (Paus. 8. 37. 1 ff.). Then again, Zeus Λυκαῖος was probably a solar god: no shadows were cast by man or beast in his precinct (Paus. 8. 38. 6, Theopompus *ap.* Polyb. 16. 12. 7), and Lycosura was 'the first city that ever the sun beheld' (Paus. 8. 38. 1). Zeus Λυκαῖος, like Zeus Νάϊος, had a peculiar spring, which flowed with an equal body of water in summer or winter (Paus. 8. 38. 3). Again, Zeus Λυκαῖος, like Zeus Νάϊος of old, was served with human sacrifices (Plat. *rep.* 565 D, Theophrastus *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 27), which the author of pseudo-Platonic *Minos* 315 c compares with the offerings made by the descendants of Athamas. The recurrence of a river Acheloüs (Paus. 8. 38. 9 f.) is another point of resemblance between Mt. Lycaeus and Dodona. The two gilded eagles perched on columns in front of the Lycaean altar (Paus. 8. 38. 7) recall the golden dove (Philostr. *Maj. imagg.* 33. 1) or pair of doves (Soph. *Trach.* 172 with schol.) at Dodona. Zeus Λυκαῖος had a sacred hearth, corresponding to that of Zeus Νάϊος; for on the summit of Mt. Lycaeus there is still to be seen a circular level, about fifty yards across, covered with a layer of potsherds and charred bones (Frazer *Paus.* iv. 382).² The Lycaean games or Λύκαια (Paus. 8. 38. 5) were similar to the Dodonaean games or Νάια: they were founded by Lycaon, son of Pelasgus, the inventor of athletic sports (Paus. 3. 2. 1, Plin. *hist. nat.* 7. 205), and besides the races in the hippodrome (Paus. 8. 38. 5) included a foot-race and a

race of men carrying shields (Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* i. 78 no. 240). But, after all, the central feature of the Dodonaean cult was the sacred oak. Are there, it will be asked, any traces of an oak-cult in connexion with Zeus Λυκαῖος? Pausanias, speaking of the spring Hagno on Mt. Lycaeus, says (8. 38. 4 Frazer): 'If there is a long drought, and the seeds in the earth and the trees are withering, the priest of Lycaean Zeus looks to the water and prays; and having prayed and offered the sacrifices enjoined by custom, he lets down an oak-branch to the surface of the spring, but not deep into it; and the water being stirred, there rises a mist-like vapour, and in a little the vapour becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia.' In this rain-charm note, first, that it is the priest of Zeus who is thought to control the weather; secondly, that Zeus has a sacred spring—is in fact νάϊος; thirdly, that his priest carries a bough of oak, which implies that the oak was his sacred tree. All these points remind us forcibly of Dodona. I would go further and conjecture that the two pillars in front of the altar of Zeus Λυκαῖος resembled the two oaks in front of the altar of Zeus Στράτιος, and were simply conventionalised oaks. On this showing, the parallelism between the gilded eagles perched on the Lycaean pillars and the golden dove perched on the Dodonaean oak is complete. Similarly Demeter and Despoina at Lycosura seem to have had a sacred tree. 'Above the so-called Megaron,' says Pausanias (8. 37. 10), 'is a grove sacred to Despoina and surrounded by a stone wall. Inside the wall there are trees and, in particular, an olive and an evergreen oak growing from the same root: this is not a product of the gardener's art. Above the grove are altars of Poseidon Ἰππιος, as father of Despoina, and of other gods: on the last of the altars is an inscription stating that it is common to all the gods.' The remarkable tree here described, part oak, part olive, and the neighbouring altar 'to all the gods' send us back to Olympia where the sacred olive, the substitute for the oak, grew ἐν τῇ Παρθείῳ ([Aristot.] *mir. ausc.* 51, schol. vet. Aristoph. *Plut.* 586). But further proof of the affinity between Zeus Λυκαῖος and the oak is forthcoming. Pliny *hist. nat.* 8. 82 cites from a Greek source the statement that Demaenetus the Parrhasian at the human sacrifice offered to Zeus Λυκαῖος by the Arcadians tasted the entrails of a boy-victim and was thereupon

¹ If it be objected that the Arcadians regarded Demeter as the wife of Poseidon (Paus. 8. 37. 9), I should reply that Poseidon was but the local form of Zeus. Pausanias in this very passage goes on to say that Despoina, the daughter of Demeter by Poseidon, corresponded to Cora, the daughter of Demeter by Zeus.

² The local tradition, mentioned by Dr. Frazer, 'that these are the bones of men whom the ancients caused to be here trampled to death by horses, as corn is trodden by horses on a threshing-floor' is deserving of attention. We have found a parallel to it in the myths of Lycurgus and Hippolytus-Virbius (*supra*).

transformed into a wolf, but that nine years later he returned to human shape and won a victory in boxing at Olympia. Now Pliny has just before (8. 81) quoted another Arcadian tale to the effect that the family of a certain Anthus cast lots, and that the man on whom the lot fell was taken to a lake and, after hanging his clothes on an oak-tree, swam across the lake to a desert place, where he was transformed into a wolf; that he associated with other such wolves for the space of nine years, and, if he had during that time abstained from attacking men, he was restored to his original shape, resumed his cast-off clothing, and had an additional nine years' lease of life granted him. This 'impudens mendacium,' as Pliny terms it, when taken in connexion with the story of Demaenetus, not only confirms the wolfish character of Lycaean Zeus, but also makes it clear that Zeus was represented by an actual oak-tree. For the transformation into a were-wolf for nine years, which befell Demaenetus on eating the sacrifice of Zeus Λυκαῖος, in the case of the Anthidae befell the man who hung his clothes on the oak.

Elsewhere in Arcadia there are traces of an oak-cult. Thus Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 198 argues that at Psophis an oak-Zeus was worshipped by the side of Aphrodite, just as an oak-Zeus was worshipped along with Dione [and Aphrodite] at Dodona. Certainly the older name of Psophis was Phegeia (Paus. 8. 24. 2 and 8), the town having been called after Phegeus, the 'oak'-king.¹ And that the people were given to tree-worship might be inferred from Pausanias' account of the cypresses sacred to Alcmaeon, son-in-law of Phegeus, which went by the name of Maidens and must not be cut down (8. 24. 7 f.). Also, there was near Psophis an oak-wood dedicated to Aphrodite (Paus. 8. 25. 1); and the acorn occurs as an emblem on coins of the town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Peloponnesus, p. 198, No. 4).

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

GARDNER'S ANCIENT ATHENS

Ancient Athens. By ERNEST ARTHUR GARDNER, Yates Professor of Archaeology in University College, London. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902. Pp. xvi, 579; 8 photogravures, 12 plans, 162 illustrations. £1 1s. nett.

THE author is certainly to be congratulated on his success, and I take great pleasure in

¹ Goerres *Studien zur griech. Mythol.* p. 17 identifies Phegeus with an oak-Zeus.

recommending this beautiful book in the warmest terms of praise to the student and to the public in general. Prof. Gardner is especially happy in his method of handling the great mass of material at his disposal, and, on the whole, his illustrations are well-chosen.

On p. 129, however, where the Tyrannicides are represented, it would have been far more instructive if an illustration such as the one in Luckenbach, *Abbildungen zur alten Geschichte*, p. 19 or even in Joubin, *La Sculpture Grecque*, pp. 48, 49 had been selected, rather than the group in Naples, with the falsely restored youthful (Skopasian) head on the torso of Aristogeiton, which only serves to lead one astray, for Aristogeiton was a middle-aged man. On p. 184 the Moschophoros should have been pictured as the statue now stands, that is, on its inscribed basis. Furthermore, I am convinced that Prof. Gardner would have done better to have given a full-face view of the 'Maiden' illustrated on p. 196. She is by far the best of the series, and deserves a whole page in illustration much better than the head illustrated on p. 197. It would have been an easy matter to have procured a better illustration of this statue, for good photographs have been on sale at Athens quite a number of years. The diagram on p. 233 showing details of the Ionic order, as illustrated on the temple of Athena at Priene (see Baumeister, *Denkmäler* I p. 277) is incorrectly explained as 'Ionic Capitals of Propylaea and Erechtheum.' This, of course, is a slip of the pen.

It goes without saying that a book of 579 pages, printed in America whereas the author lives in London, could hardly be free from printer's mistakes, none of which, however, are of such importance that they need be corrected here.

What seems to an American a rather amusing argument is advanced on p. 325 to prove 'that in ancient Greece, as in England now, it was customary to take the left side of the road when passing another vehicle,' because 'the driver always occupies the right of the car.' To us this is less convincing than to our English cousins.

Generally speaking, Gardner does not follow Dörpfeld. So, for instance, I am sorry to say, he holds to the old theory of placing the Enneakrounos (Kallirrhoe) in the bed of the Ilissos just below the Olympieion, and places the Limnai on the south instead of the west slope of the Akropolis. Furthermore, he does not believe in what I too consider an untenable



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branches of ancient literature the editor himself should be historian, poet, philosopher, archaeologist, astronomer, ethnologist; and I am certainly none of these.' The first sentence is undoubtedly true, the second is all too modest. But the whole passage provides a wholesome warning against presumption in a reviewer. Doubtless students of the special branches of knowledge with which Dr. Gifford disclaims familiarity will find opportunity for enlarging references and extending the list of authorities. For instance the archaeologist and comparative mythologist will add a whole library on the Eleusinian mysteries and will go to Roscher and Pauly-Wissowa in cases where Dr. Gifford has been satisfied with Preller or Smith's Dictionaries, while the historian will make mention of Müller's *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*; but on the whole the range of learning displayed in the notes is astonishing and the soundness of judgement is worthy of the highest respect. It is only to be regretted that the editor did not in-

crease the reader's debt to him by adding a separate index to his notes. But he has given us so much in this as in other respects that it were ungracious to ask for more. He has an index of authors quoted by Eusebius, an *index nominum et rerum*, a list of scripture passages, and one of Greek words. It is to the first of these, the *index scriptorum*, that readers of the *Classical Review* will probably turn first and they will rise from a perusal of it with respect for the fourth century Father and gratitude to the scholar and disciple who in a later day has striven so successfully to make his meaning clear.

There seem to be very few misprints which have finally escaped the notice of the editor and the lynx-eyed readers for the Press. It may be useful to add the following trifling *corrigenda*. For Athenaeus read Athenaeus (Notes, p. 329); for Λés Bétyles read Les Bétyles (*ib.* p. 49); for Θανάτου πύλαις read π. ἄδου (*ib.* p. 9); for Book VI read Book VIII (headline, *ib.* p. 285).

H. F. STEWART.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER, AND THE OAK.

(Continued from p. 89.)

Sicily.

PANOFKA¹ and W. GRIMM² long since pointed out that the three-eyed Cyclops of Sicily³ bears a striking resemblance to the three-eyed Zeus of Argos.⁴ Max Mayer⁵ arrived independently at a similar conclusion, viz. that the original Cyclops was identical with the three-eyed Zeus of Argos, who in turn is strictly comparable with the three-eyed Argus Πανόπτης,⁶ the three-eyed guide of the Heraclidae,⁷ and the various heroes named Triops or Triopas.⁸ It would appear, then, that the three-eyed Cyclops is but another form of the three-eyed or triple Zeus. This squares well with

Polyphemus' boast that he was the peer of Zeus,⁹ and with Nonnus' description of the Cyclops Brontes as 'a bastard Zeus.'¹⁰ Hesiod too speaks of the Cyclopes as 'resembling the gods';¹¹ and the names that he gives them—Βρόντης, Στερόπης, Ἀργής—recall the titles of Zeus—Βροντῶν,¹² στεροππηγέτα,¹³ ἀργής.¹⁴ But, if we thus equate the Cyclops with the Argive Zeus, and further accept Pausanias' statement that the latter was at once sky-god, sea-god, and earth-god, it follows that the Cyclops should have the same threefold character. Was this the case?

The ancients recognised three types of Cyclopes:¹⁵ (1) 'those of the sky,' who are

⁹ *Od.* 9. 275 f., *Eur. Cycl.* 320 f.

¹⁰ *Dion.* 28. 199.

¹¹ *Theog.* 142.

¹² *C.R.* xviii. 79.

¹³ *Il.* 16. 298, cp. *C.R.* xviii. 80.

¹⁴ *Emped.* 56 K.

¹ *Arch. Comm. zu Paus.* 2.24, p. 30 f.

² *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1857, 'die Sage von Polyphem', p. 28.

³ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1685. The Irish Cyclops *Ingcél* had one eye with three pupils! (Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* 1886 p. 135)

⁴ *C.R.* xviii. 75 ff.

⁵ *Die Giganten u. Titanen* p. 110 ff.

⁶ *C.R.* xviii. 75.

⁷ *Ib.* 87.

⁸ *Ib.* 76 f.

¹⁵ Schol. Hes. *theog.* 139 Ἑλλάνικος δὲ τοὺς Κύκλωπας φησιν ὀνομάζεσθαι ἀπὸ Κύκλωπος υἱοῦ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ. Κυκλώπων γὰρ γένη τρία: Κύκλωπες οἱ τὴν Μυκήνην τειχίσαντες, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύφημον, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοί, cp. schol. Aristid. 52. 10 τρία γὰρ γένη φασὶν εἶναι Κυκλώπων, τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, Σικελοὺς ὄντας, καὶ τοὺς χειρογαστορας, καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους οὐρανίους. Both passages are cited by Mayer *op. cit.* p. 110.

none other than 'the gods themselves,' (2) Polyphemus and the Sicilian breed, (3) the Cheirogastores, who built Mycenae. (1) The οὐράνιοι or sky-Cyclopes are called by Hesiod Οὐρανίδαι,¹ and according to Hellanicus,² got their name ἀπὸ Κύκλωπος υἱοῦ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ. (2) The Sicilian Cyclopes are related rather to the sea. Polyphemus was the son of Poseidon by Thoῶsa, a daughter of the sea-god Phorcys,³ and was himself enamoured of the sea-nymph Galatea. At Corinth too, an ancient altar of the Cyclopes stood in the precinct of Poseidon near a temple of Palaemon.⁴ On these and other grounds H. Bigge⁵ concluded that Polyphemus and the Cyclopes were old sea-gods, and Preller-Robert speak of them as 'Poseidonischen Kyklopen.'⁶ (3) The Cyclopes as builders of the huge Cyclopean walls are akin to the Giants.⁷ They are the sons of Gaia,⁸ Γγγε-νέες⁹ or χθόνιοι,¹⁰ now buried in the depths of the earth,¹¹ where they work at the forge of Hephaestus.¹² The Cyclopes, therefore, are intimately related to sky and sea and earth, i.e. they have precisely the characteristics of the triple Pelasgian god, who was not only Zeus but Poseidon and Hades as well. Not far from the altar of the Cyclopes at Corinth stood three ancient images of Zeus: 'one of these had no title, another was called Χθόνιος, and the third Ὑψιστος.'¹³ Again, there is a curious similarity¹⁴ between the blinding of Polyphemus in the legend of Sicily and the blinding of Orion in the legend of Chios: 'the one is a doublet of the other, and it will be remembered that Orion was sprung from Zeus + Poseidon + Hermes (or Apollo) in the home of Pelasgus.'¹⁵ Lastly, it was the Cyclopes who presented 'Zeus with his thunder and lightning and levin-bolt, Pluto with his cap of darkness, and Poseidon with his trident.'¹⁷ On terra-cotta brasiers of Hellenistic date there is often

stamped a grotesque bearded head, sometimes wearing a pointed cap and accompanied by a thunderbolt or thunderbolts.¹⁸ Roscher¹⁹ follows Furtwängler in regarding this figure as that of Cyclops. If they are right, and Furtwängler's arguments are plausible,²⁰ we have here monumental evidence of Cyclops conceived as actually wielding the thunderbolts of Zeus²¹ and wearing the cap of the nether god.²²

It is possible that in early times Cyclops was represented by other and yet more monstrous forms. The name Κύκλωψ certainly suggests that he had the appearance of a disk or wheel (κύκλος),²³ and has by many mythologists²⁴ been referred to the solar orb. Now in Sicily there was an ancient symbol consisting of three bent legs radiating from a common centre (τὸ τρισκέλες, sc. σημείον), which, perhaps as being the signet of Agathocles, became the emblem first of Syracuse and subsequently of the whole island.²⁵ The *triskeles* is a modification of the *swastika*,²⁶ itself a conventionalised representation of the revolving sun.²⁷ I would conjecture, therefore, that in the Sicilian *triskeles* we have a survival of the Cyclops as primitively conceived,²⁸ and that

¹⁸ Conze 'Griech. Kohlenbecken' in *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.* 1890 v. 118 ff.

¹⁹ *Lex.* ii. 1681, 1685.

²⁰ Furtwängler 'Die Köpfe d. griech. Kohlenbecken' in *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 110 ff.

²¹ Cp. Eur. *Cycl.* 328, Nonn. *Dion.* 28. 188, 196.

²² For the pointed cap of Hephaestus was a πῖλος κνάνεος (Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 11. 23) and can hardly be separated from the cap of darkness.

²³ Hes. *theog.* 145 describes the eye on the Cyclops' forehead as κυκλοτερὴς ὀφθαλμός, cp. Emped. 308 K. κύκλοπα κούρη.

²⁴ E.g. W. Grimm 'die Sage von Polyphem' in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1857, p. 27f. Cyclopes occur in the folk-lore not only of Sicily (G. Pitre *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari Siciliani* ii. 129 ff. 'Lu Ciclòpu', T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* p. 53) but also of other lands (e.g. Merry-Riddell *Odyssey* i. 550 ff., P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* i. 272, 295), sometimes in such a way as to suggest a solar meaning: thus in Zakynthos their one eye is thought to spurt out fire (Miss J. E. Harrison *Myths of the Odyssey* p. 30 f., cp. B. Schmidt *Gr. Märchen, Sagen u. Volkslieder* p. 13 ff.). Ovid's Cyclopes expressly compares his eye to the 'unicus orbis' of the Sun (*met.* 13. 851 ff.). Cp. also Parmen. 135 K. κύκλωπος...σελήνης.

²⁵ See G. F. Hill *Coins of Anc. Sicily* p. 152 ff.

²⁶ See e.g. E. Thomas 'The Indian Swastika and its Western counterparts' in *Num. Chron.* xx. 18 ff.

²⁷ *C.R.* xvii. 411.

²⁸ Echoes of the same belief may be heard in Greek philosophy. It was the Sicilian Empedocles who wrote: γυμνοὶ δ' ἐπιδέζοντο βραχίονες εὐνίδες ὤμων, | ὀμμάτ' αὖτ' οἷα πλανᾶτο πενήτευσσιν μετώπων (233 f. K.). Plato was probably thinking of the Empedoclean οὐλοφυνεῖς...τύποι (251 K.), when he spoke of Janiform beings with four arms and four legs which enabled them to revolve κύκλῳ (*symp.* 189 E,

¹ *Theog.* 502.

² *Ap. schol. Hes. theog.* 139.

³ *Od.* 1. 70 ff.

⁴ *Paus.* 2. 2. 1.

⁵ *De Cyclopibus Homericis* Coblenz 1856 p. 23 ff.

⁶ P. 624. Note also the maritime names of the Cyclopes Ἀλιμήδης (Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 60, 28. 251, 265) and Εὐρύαλος (*ib.* 14. 52, 28. 242).

⁷ Cp. *Od.* 7. 206 Κύκλωπές τε καὶ ἄγρια φῦλα Γυγάντων.

⁸ Hes. *theog.* 139, cp. *Apollod.* 1. 1. 2.

⁹ *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 510, Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 341, 27. 86.

¹⁰ Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 600, 27. 89.

¹¹ Hes. *theog.* 157 f., Eur. *Cycl.* 297 f., *alib.*

¹² Callim. *h. Dian.* 46 ff., *alib.*

¹³ *Paus.* 2. 2. 8.

¹⁴ Remarkd by Preller-Robert p. 623.

¹⁵ Roscher *Lex.* iii. 1037 ff.

¹⁶ *C.R.* xviii. 81.

¹⁷ *Apollod.* 1. 2. 1.

the *swastika* was modified into a *three-legged* figure to suit his triple character. This conjecture is supported by the tradition that the Cyclopes came originally from Lycia,¹ where they bore the titles *Χειρογάστρος*, *Ἐγχειρογάστρος*, *Γαστροόχειρες*. For it is in Lycia that the *triskeles* and analogous symbols are most frequently found;² and the titles just mentioned may well describe beings whose limbs radiate from a central orb. Nor does this derivation of the Cyclops conflict with the view that he represents the triple Pelasgian Zeus: for in Lycia we have found clear traces of that divinity;³ indeed, C. von Paucker⁴ and E. Curtius⁵ long ago conjectured that the Lycian *triskeles* symbolised the cult of a three-fold Zeus.

I have shown that elsewhere the triple Pelasgian Zeus was constantly associated with the oak-tree and a sacred hearth. In the case of the Cyclops such a connexion can hardly be proved. Nevertheless it is not improbable. Polyphemus' cave is surrounded by pines and oaks⁶; and it is beneath an ever-green oak that he sings to Galatea.⁷ A relief in the Villa Albani shows the love-sick giant sitting beside his cave, over which spreads a fine oak-tree.⁸ Theocritus, who should know the details of a Sicilian myth, makes him boast that he has 'billets of oak and a fire that grows not weary beneath the embers.'⁹ In the interesting version of the story preserved

by Euripides the Cyclops makes his fire blaze up by 'throwing logs of a lofty oak upon his broad hearth,'¹⁰ and the bar with which his eye is burnt out is 'the huge limb of an oak-tree.'¹¹ Odysseus thrusting the bar into the eye of the Cyclops is a figure not unlike Prometheus plunging his staff into the wheel of the sun-god: I have already¹² compared the latter to a man working a bow-drill—the very simile used by Homer of the former.¹³ Both of them, I conceive, furnish a parallel to Lycophron's description of Zeus: 'the oak-tree god, he of the fire-drill, he of the glowing face, he of the round wheel.'¹⁴

M. Mayer¹⁵ compares the fable of the gold-guarding Cyclops¹⁶ with that of the gold-guarding griffins and the one-eyed Arimaspi.¹⁷ These griffins are identified by Nonius¹⁸ with 'the wood-peckers who tend the mountains of gold,'¹⁹ and the historian Brutius relates how *ὁ αὐτὸς Πίκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς* corrupted Danae with a bribe of much gold²⁰—so that once more we are brought back to the circle of the oak-god.

Other traces of the Pelasgian Zeus in Sicily could probably be collected. A fifth century tetradrachm of Zancle, now at Brussels, shows Poseidon brandishing not a trident but a thunderbolt.²¹ With this Zeus-like Poseidon should be compared a gem in the Berlin cabinet representing 'Zeus and Poseidon combined in one figure. The god holds in his right hand the thunderbolt, beneath which stands the eagle: in his left he supports the trident.'²² Coins of Abacaenum have a head of Zeus²³ as the obverse, a boar and an acorn as the reverse type: was the oak-Zeus worshipped in 'the great forests of oak which still cover the neighbouring mountains'?²⁴ The Museum at Palermo has a marble support from a throne

cp. *Tim.* 44 D). The Cyclopes of a modern Sicilian tale 'have four eyes, two in front, two behind' (Miss J. E. Harrison *Myths of the Odyssey* p. 31). Cp. the Janiform heads, both male and female, on the coins of Sicily and S. Italy (G. F. Hill *Coins of Anc. Sicily* pp. 150, 205, 208, Roscher *Lex.* ii. 54), and the early Sardinian bronzes representing warriors with two pairs of arms and two or three pairs of eyes (Perrot-Chipiez *Hist. of Art in Sardinia* i. 59 f.).

¹ Strab. 372, Apollod. 2. 2. 1.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Lycia etc. p. xxvii f. 'The symbol, which is...characteristic of the early Lycian coinage, consists of a central annulet, from which spring three curved members. The number of these is varied sometimes to two or four, and once...to one. The symbol on Lycian coins never consists of three human legs, which is the common form in Pamphylia and Pisidia; but the members are sometimes decorated with heads of cocks...or monsters' (G. F. Hill). See also Babelon *les Perses Achéménides* p. xc f., who cites a Lycian coin bearing a genuine *triskeles* (no. 548, pl. 15, 20) and others on which the radiate members end in swans' heads (nos. 476, 532, pls. 12, 11; 15, 5).

³ *C.R.* xviii. 75 f.

⁴ *Arch. Zeit.* 1851 p. 380.

⁵ *Ib.* 1855 p. 11.

⁶ *Od.* 9. 186.

⁷ Philostr. *im.* 2. 18. 3.

⁸ Miss J. E. Harrison *Myths of the Odyssey* p. 32, pl. 13.

⁹ Theocr. 11. 51.

¹⁰ Eur. *Cycl.* 383 f., cp. *I.T.* 845 *Κυκλωπὶς ἐστία* of Mycenae.

¹¹ Eur. *Cycl.* 615.

¹² *C.R.* xvii. 419.

¹³ *Od.* 9. 384 ff.

¹⁴ Lyc. 536 f. *ὁ Δρόμνιος | δαίμων Προμανθεὺς Αἰθίοψ Γυράφιος*. See *C.R.* xvii. 419.

¹⁵ *Gig. u. Tit.* p. 115 n. 144.

¹⁶ Aesop 53 Halm.

¹⁷ Aristaeas *frag.* 4. Kinkel, Hdt. 4. 27, *alib.*

¹⁸ *S.v.* 'pícos' p. 152, 6 Linds.

¹⁹ Plaut. *aul.* 701.

²⁰ Peter *Hist. Rom. Frag.* p. 375, 25 ff.

²¹ G. F. Hill *Coins of Anc. Sicily* p. 70, pl. 4, 8. Conversely, the Sun-god is connected with *Θρινάκη*, the island of the trident (*θρίναξ*), by Homer (see Ebeling *s.v.*).

²² Furtwängler *Geschn. Steine im Antiq. zu Berlin* no. 3447.

²³ Marindin *Class. Dict.* 1.

²⁴ Bunbury in Smith's *Dict. Geogr.* i. 1.

of Zeus, which is decorated with oak-leaves.¹ On bronze coins of Syracuse struck during Pyrrhus' invasion occurs the Dodonaean oak-wreath.² And that this wreath was felt to be appropriate to a solar god appears from Choerion's superb head of Apollo crowned with an oak-wreath on a tetradrachm of Catana.³

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(*To be concluded.*)

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(See *C.R.* 1904, P. 137.)

THE two most important discoveries made in the Forum during the last few months have been the deposit of prehistoric pottery in the base of the equestrian statue of Domitian,⁴ and the site of the Lacus Curtius. They have excited a sufficient amount of general interest to find mention in the columns of the daily press; and they are certainly most striking and unexpected—at least by the majority of archaeologists, though both were to some extent anticipated by Comm. Boni.

The first find took place early in March. An incision made into the solid concrete of the base, at the centre of the south-east side, at a depth of about four feet, revealed the presence of a slab of travertine four feet square and two feet thick. When this was lifted, it was found to be the lid of a cavity of slightly trapezoidal shape, about two feet long on each side and one foot deep, cut in a block of travertine embedded in the solid concrete. Within the cavity were five vases in a perfect state of preservation. The first and largest is a globular vase, without handles, red in colour, and decorated with vertical raised ribs: the second a small amphora of black ware with two handles, with incised ornamentation, consisting of spirals and the figure of a fish. Two others are small cyathi also of black ware, and similarly ornamented one having a ten-pointed star on the bottom: while the last, made of yellowish clay, with a decoration formed of bands of red, resembles in shape nothing so much as the small brown

jugs used in England to contain clotted cream, except that it has no shoulder. Nothing was found in any of the vases except a fragment of unrefined gold in the largest, a few grains of pitch, and some fragments of tortoiseshell.

It was in searching for some traces of the ritual employed in 'laying the foundation-stone' of the monument that Comm. Boni had made the discovery, and he believed that this was what he desired to find. There are, however, various objections to this theory. Even if it be supposed that the ceremony was not so much the *inauguratio* that would have been used for a temple or sacred building as an expiatory sacrifice to Mother Earth, we have no knowledge of such a usage. Further, the vases are in shape and decoration almost absolutely identical with those of the inhumation tombs of the prehistoric necropolis close to the temple of Antoninus and Faustina:⁵ that is to say, they are the products, not of an absolutely primitive and undeveloped art, which could easily be produced at any period and are therefore not attributable to any definite time, but of an art which had already progressed considerably, and which we can hardly suppose to have been imitated by posterity. And it is further to be noticed that they are not all of one type, but that we have representatives of several of the different kinds of vases that generally form a group of pottery in the tombs of this period, not only in the necropolis of the Forum, but in that of the Esquiline and in others in the neighbourhood of Rome—as for instance at Veii—the period that succeeded the cremation tombs of the Alban Hills and of the earliest stratum of the necropolis of the Forum.

It is thus extremely difficult to suppose that these various types of vases can have been still manufactured, so many centuries after their first introduction, for ritual purposes: nor is it very likely that they had been preserved for use on such occasions during so many vicissitudes. The extraordinarily good state of preservation in which they are militates against this hypothesis. It is true that the *Simpulvium Numa* was preserved as a relic (though its authenticity

¹ Durm *Die Baukunst der Griechen* p. 253.

² G. F. Hill *Coins of Anc. Sicily* p. 163, pl. 12, 7.

³ *Ib.* p. 132 f., pl. 9, 4.

⁴ The identification is discussed in *C.R.* 1904, p. 139 *sq.* It should be noted that besides the three sockets corresponding to the legs of the horse there is a hole in the centre of the base, which may have contained a support for its body.

⁵ See *Not. Scav.* 1903, p. 385, fig. 11 (tomb G); p. 404, fig. 31 (tomb I). The globular vase differs from those of tomb G only in having vertical striations: the amphora is exactly paralleled by that from tomb I: the cyathi are of the same type as that from tomb G, while the yellowish pot with decorations in red is hardly distinguishable from that which was found in tomb I, and which is shown in more detail in fig. 34.



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Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak. (Conclusion.)

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centuries earlier—shows that Greek was making way in Palestine: and in Galilee a considerable influx of Greek must have taken place by 50 A.D. It has always seemed to me that the same confined idea underlay many of W.-H.'s list of O.T. quotations in the N.T., and many lists of supposed quotations of the N.T. in the Fathers and Apocryphal Books (*e.g.* perhaps 897a).

Again, it is reasonable to suppose that the first efforts to express the Gospel in Greek were the most barbarous, and that smoothness came with time. As it seems to me, S. Mark retains strong traces of these¹ first uncouth attempts, while certain set forms like the Lord's Prayer might be expected to be worse than even the bulk of his narrative. (The development of the English liturgy would be analogous to this process.) Thus I suppose ἐπιούσιος to be a particularly barbarous form, and Dr. Abbott might supplement his list of S. John's paraphrases of Synoptic words (*cf.* p. 312) by an identification I have suggested of ἄρτος ἐπιούσιος with ὁ καταβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (vi. 33).² Similarly S. Mark has ἐπιβαλὼν (as if 'slamming'³ out of the house') ἔκλαιε, where S. Matthew even reaches ἐξελεθὼν ἔξω. So I doubt not S. Mark's σχιζομένους τοὺς οὐρανοὺς is to be explained, without reading into it any of the deep design suggested in § 642.

Another fallacy which infects the writer like most others who have written on the subject is this. If two accounts disagree, and a third account equally detailed exist, it must almost always, even if its writer knew nothing of the other two accounts,

¹ Thus I should doubt if he knew (§ 945) the nice Greek use of κάθημαι = 'remain doing nothing,' and am not fully satisfied with the argument on xiv. 36 παρένεγκε.

² The ἐπ. = κατά may reassure Dr. Abbott in regard to the harmony of Mk. i. 10 and its parallels.

³ Perhaps such a vulgar use misunderstood gave rise to S. Luke ix. 62 if Dr. Abbott is right in making this resemble Acts ix. 5.

side with one or the other. When the spurious Gospel of Peter was found, it was amazing to observe how little this law of probability was recognized. Dr. Abbott observes (§§ 656, 974) that 'in almost every case where Luke omits or entirely alters an important statement of Mark, John intervenes to clear up some obscurity or corruption.' This sort of observation needs to be supplemented by others, showing how often he obscures—by giving a new view—important statements common to SS. Mark and Luke, and so on.

In conclusion, it ought to be said that the temper of Dr. Abbott's writing is worthy of his subject, and, if some of his theories appear fanciful, for others, as has been said, he deserves the thanks of all readers of the Bible, for he has shown us the true significance of unregarded words. With his plea for more frequent study of Targums and Talmuds and Hebrew thought all sober students must heartily sympathize; and no less with his insistence on the study of Plato and Philo if we are to understand S. John. Unfortunately a portion of a Latin Father is the uniform diet given to diocesan examinees.

But it is shown once more by this work that these N.T. problems will never be solved until a group of scholars undertakes the work. And for some reason this is the more necessary since the study of Rabbinical learning seems to have the same deflecting power over the logical faculties that the pursuit of mediaeval scholasticism or Celtic *origines* has.⁴ A group of scholars could not only carry out with one purpose a multitude of necessary investigations subsidiary to a final solution, but could criticize, correct, and stimulate each other's work.

T. NICKLIN.

⁴ Dr. Abbott derives from Sabach(thanei) variously understood no less than nine distinct Gospel statements.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER, AND THE OAK.

(Conclusion.)

Etruria.

PROF. RIDGEWAY rightly lays stress on the tradition that, before the advent of the

Etruscans, Pelasgians from Thessaly had settled in N. Italy and made common cause with the kindred tribe of the Aborigines.¹ He further advances the attractive and indeed brilliant hypothesis that the quasi-Greek works of art (bronzes, scarabs,

¹ *E.A. i.* 231 ff.

frescoes, etc.) found in Etruria are due to the Pelasgian element in the Etruscan population.¹ If this be so, we may look to find traces of the triple Pelasgian Zeus among the artistic products of Etruria. The Etruscan scarab here reproduced² shows a



FIG. 1.

naked male deity with a *himation* over his left arm in the act of stepping into a chariot. He grasps a thunderbolt in his right hand, a trident in his left; while at his feet is a dog. We can hardly be mistaken in regarding this singular figure as the threefold Pelasgian god: the thunderbolt marks him as Zeus, the trident as Poseidon, the dog (Cerberus) and the chariot as Hades.³ This triple Zeus was the god of Dodona; and it is known that the Pelasgians who crossed from Thessaly to Italy and allied themselves with their kinsmen the Aborigines continued to worship the Dodonaean Zeus.⁴ Hence the oak-cult can be detected in sundry settlements of the Etruscans. For example, the Etruscans once occupied the Vatican near Rome⁵; and Pliny states⁶ that 'on the Vatican is an oak-tree (*ilex*) older than Rome itself, bearing a bronze inscription in Etruscan letters, which proves that even in those early days the tree was thought worthy of religious veneration.' Gellius mentions a 'Vaticanus deus' and notes the tradition that he drew his name 'a vaticiniis';⁷ this would suit well a god like that of Dodona. Again, the Etruscans had a settlement on the Caelian,⁸

which in ancient times was covered with oak-woods and known as the Mons Quercetulanus.⁹ The *Notitia Regionum*¹⁰ records an 'arborem sanctam' on the same height, presumably the sacred oak of the Etruscan settlers. This inference is strongly supported by a bas-relief found at Rome, probably on the Caelian: it shows three figures inscribed *Herculi Iuliano, Iovi Caelio, and Genio Caelimontis*; Hercules has a club and a lion-skin the Genius is seated on the hill and holds a laurel; but the central figure, that of Jupiter Caelius, has an eagle, a thunderbolt, and a sceptre, and by him is represented an oak-tree.¹¹

Portents connected with these sacred oaks were interpreted by Etruscan *haruspices*.¹² Hence in the corrupt Hesychian gloss ἀροσπίκες· δρύες ἐπικεκομμέναι we should restore ἀροσπίκες = *haruspices*.¹³ The lightning lore of these diviners was ascribed to an Etruscan nymph Begoe¹⁴ or Vegone,¹⁵ whose name possibly denotes an oak-nymph (φηγός).¹⁶

The Etruscan Lucumons on state occasions used to wear the costume of Jupiter¹⁷ and must have been regarded as his special representatives, if not actually as embodiments of him. Their curule seats¹⁸ and purple raiment¹⁹ were such as befitted the man-god.²⁰ A sceptre with an eagle perched upon it²¹ proclaimed the human Jupiter. The *Etrusca corona*, a large gold crown of oak-leaves enriched with acorns of precious stones and golden ribands,²² marked the man as vice-gerent of the oak-god. The golden *bullā* slung from his neck²³ was sign

⁹ Tac. *ann.* 4. 65.

¹⁰ *Regio* ii. 'Caelemontium.'

¹¹ Dessau 3080.

¹² Suet. *Vesp.* 5, cp. Pers. 2. 24 ff. and Varr. *r.r.* 1. 40.

¹³ The restoration is confirmed by the order ἄρος, ἄροσπίκες, ἀροτόν. On the *Copt Oaks* of Charnwood Forest in Leicestershire see *County Folk-lore* iii. 25 ff.

¹⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 6. 72.

¹⁵ Cp. Amm. Marc. 17. 10. 2 in...libris...Vegonicis, Grom. Lat. p. 348 ex libris...Vegoiae, p. 350 Vegoiae: see Pauly-Wissowa iii. 194.

¹⁶ Cp. *C.R.* xviii. 79.

¹⁷ Müller-Deecke *Die Etrusker* ii. 43.

¹⁸ Jan on Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 6. 7 collects the literary evidence and Müller-Deecke *op. cit.* i. 346, n. 55 the monumental.

¹⁹ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 3. 62, Fest. s.v. 'picta' p. 197 Lind., *alib.*

²⁰ *C.R.* xvii. 410, xviii. 84 n. 1; xvii. 404, 416 f.

²¹ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 3. 62.

²² Tertull. *de coron.* 13, Plin. *n.h.* 21. 6. 33. 11, *alib.* Figured in Etruscan art: Micali *mon. ined.* pl. 49, 1; Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* i. 394 ff., 456, ii. 485. See also the painting of a *triumphator* found in the Macellum at Pompeii (Roux-Barré iii. 55, pl. 2. 120).

²³ Plut. *v. Rom.* 25, Festus s.v. 'Sardi venales,' p. 252 Lind.

¹ *Ib.* i. 250 ff.

² Fig. 1 = Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus Gemmentaf. 3, 7, cp. Creuzer *Symbolik* iii. 1 pl. 6, 27, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemm.* pl. 18, 6. The gem is a chalcidony scarab, formerly in the Dehn collection.

³ So Panofka ('Über verlegene Mythen' in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1839 p. 35, pl. 1, 5) and Welcker (*Gr. Götterl.* i. 162, n. 5), who call the god Zeus Triopas. Creuzer (*Symbolik* iii. 204) and Overbeck (*Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 259) take the same view—'ein Zeus als Herrscher in den drei Reichen.' Furtwängler (*Ant. Gemm.* ii. 87) thinks that the animal at the feet of the god is not a dog but 'ein kleiner Seedrache.'

⁴ *C.R.* xvii. 269.

⁵ Paul. *exc.* Fest. s.v. 'Vaticanus' p. 161 Lind.

⁶ *N.h.* 16. 237.

⁷ *N.A.* 16. 17.

⁸ Reff. in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 1273.

and symbol of the sun-god: a sun-king must wear a miniature sun.¹ Lastly, 'the Tyrrhenian custom that the king of each town was preceded by a lictor bearing an axe along with his bundle of rods'² implies that the king as representative of the god must be armed with the weapon of the god: the bundle of rods may be a conventional substitute for the trees of the tree-god.³ That the Etruscan kings were thought to be incarnations of Jupiter might be inferred also from the legend that the wife of Corythus, king of Cortona, bore a son to Jupiter.⁴ In a tomb at Vulci was found a magnificent crown made of golden oak-leaves,⁵ which must have belonged to an Etruscan king. It is significant too that Aeneas is said⁶ to have planted a huge oak-tree decked with spoils on the tomb of Mezentius, king of the Pelasgian⁷ or Etruscan town Agylla, and that this oak-tree was regarded as an effigy of Mezentius himself.⁸ The transmission of the Etruscan royal insignia to the kings, dictators, triumphators, etc. of Rome is too well known to need illustration.⁹

Latium Vetus.

At several towns of the Latini the cult of an oak-Jupiter may be traced. Tibur worshipped Jupiter Praestes,¹⁰ and pointed to a

¹ The use of the *bullā* as a prophylactic amulet (Dar.-Sagl. s.v. 'bullā') is probably derived from its use as a solar symbol: cp. the apotropaeic moon—Hesych. *σελήνῃς φυλακτήριον ὅπερ ἐγκρέμαται τοῖς παιδίοις* and Jahn 'Über d. Aberglauben des bösen Blicks' in *Berichte über d. Verhandl. d. k. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaft. zu Leipzig* 1855 p. 42, n. 48. Another symbol of Jupiter used as a prophylactic sign was a sprig of oak-leaves: to the exx. quoted by Jahn *ib.* p. 105 from votive hands add *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* no. 875, figs. 21, 22.

² Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 3. 61.

³ Thus the Scythians, whose land was devoid of trees (Hdt. 4. 19, 61), worshipped Ares under the form of an iron scimitar set upright on many bundles of sticks (*ib.* 62). At Rhegium there was a temple of Diana *Φακελίτις* (Prob. in Verg. *buc.* p. 348 Lion) or *Φακελίνη* (Lucil. *sat.* 3. 72 Bähr.) founded by Orestes, who had brought the image from Taurica in a bundle of sticks and on his departure 'left his sword in a tree' (Cato *orig.* 3 *ap.* Prob. l.c.). In both these cases there is the same combination of weapon and bundle of sticks as in that of the Etruscan *fascēs*.

⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 7. 207: cp. Zeus and the wife of Amphitryon, *C.R.* xvii. 409. Another version made Corythus the son of Jupiter (Serv. *Aen.* 3. 167).

⁵ Dar.-Sagl. i. 1522, n. 53, fig. 1972.

⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 11. 5 ff.

⁷ Ridgeway *E.A.* i. 244 ff.

⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 11. 16, cp. 173.

⁹ Details in Müller-Deecke *Die Etrusker* i. 344 ff.

¹⁰ Dessau 3401; cp. 3028, *C.I.L.* 14. 3557, which record a Jupiter Territor and a Jupiter Custos at Tibur.

group of three ancient oaks as the spot where its eponym Tiburnus or Tiburtus had been inaugurated.¹¹ Since Tibur, according to the older form of its local legend,¹² was founded by Catillus the Arcadian, father of Tiburtus and comrade of Evander, it may be surmised that its triad of sacred oaks was the residence of the triple Pelasgian oak-Zeus.¹³ The Tiburtine cult of Vesta¹⁴ proves the maintenance of a perpetual fire.

Other oak-kings meet us at Laurentum. Here was 'the palace of Picus¹⁵ thick-set with trees and ancestral awe'¹⁶; also the funeral mound of king Dercennus topped by a shady oak.¹⁷

The oak-cult of Jupiter and Fortuna at Praeneste I have already considered.¹⁸ So numerous were the oaks of the neighbourhood that Servius¹⁹ derives *Praeneste* from *πρίνος*! He adds that Caeculus, who founded the town, was the son of Vulcan, having been conceived by his mother from a spark off the hearth, and that he proved his divine origin to an incredulous crowd by enveloping them with flame. The sacred hearth and the divine king are quite in keeping with the oak-cult. Erulus, another king of the Praenestines, obtained from his mother Feronia three lives,²⁰ so that he was a sort of Geryones.²¹ As Feronia at Praeneste was associated with Fortuna,²² and Fortuna with Jupiter, it is probable that Erulus was *τρίψυχος* as the embodiment of a triple Jupiter.

The Querquetulani were members of the Latin League²³ inhabiting an oak-clad district identified by Gell²⁴ with Corcollo between Gabii and Hadrian's Villa. They shared in the Latin sacrifice to Jupiter on the Alban Mount,²⁵ but are otherwise unknown.

In 458 B.C. Roman envoys were sent to complain that the Aequi had broken a

¹¹ Plin. *n.h.* 16. 237.

¹² Cato *orig.* 2, *frag.* 56 Peter. See Roscher *Lex.* and Pauly-Wissowa s.v. 'Catillus.'

¹³ Cp. the tree-trinities discussed in *C.R.* xvii. 406 ff.

¹⁴ Dyer in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 1203.

¹⁵ I.e. *Δρυκολάπτης*, the Woodpecker: see *C.R.* xvii. 412, xviii. 80 f., 83 f.

¹⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 7. 171 f.

¹⁷ *Ib.* 11. 851. Cp. the tomb of Ilus: *C.R.* xvii. 77. Note also the fountain sacred to the Sun at Laurentum (Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 55).

¹⁸ *C.R.* xvii. 420 f.

¹⁹ *Aen.* 7. 678.

²⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 8. 564, Lyd. *de mens.* 1. 8.

²¹ Serv. *Aen.* 8. 564.

²² Orelli 1756.

²³ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 5. 61.

²⁴ *Top. Rom.* ii. 187.

²⁵ Plin. *n.h.* 3. 69.

treaty concluded in 459. They were bidden to make their complaint to a huge oak on Mount Algidus, under the shade of whose branches the Aequian commander had his quarters; and this they actually did.¹ The *praetorium* under the sacred oak is certainly a primitive trait.

The common cult of the Latini was that of Jupiter Latiaris in a grove² of oaks³ on the summit of the Alban Mount. It is surely significant that at Albano was found a broken bas-relief of archaistic style thus described by Brunn: 'The central figure is a god, bearded and crowned, who by the attributes of a thunderbolt and a trident on his right, and a cornucopia surmounted by an eagle on his left side is shown to be Jupiter conceived as lord of the sky, the sea, and the underworld.'⁴ In short, it is an unmistakable representation of the triple Pelasgian god. Agreeably to this we read that Latinus, the eponymous king of the Latini, was identified with Jupiter Latiaris: Festus⁵ states that 'he vanished in a battle with Mezentius king of Caere and was thought to have become Jupiter Latiaris.' His wife Amata bore a name that was common to all Vestals,⁶ and is usually⁷ connected with the cult of Vesta Albana: indeed a sacred fire was kept burning on the Alban hearth down to the latest days of Paganism.⁸ Aeneas the founder of the Alban dynasty, like Latinus, disappeared in a battle with Mezentius or with Turnus and was worshipped as Jupiter Indiges.⁹ His son Ascanius was succeeded by Silvius and a whole line of Silvii.¹⁰ The name *Ascanius*, as Dr. J. H. Moulton suggests to me, perhaps denoted an 'oak'-king (cp. ἄρκ-α, 'oak'). Further, the cognomen of the *Silvii* may be taken to imply that they were representatives of a tree-god; and, since Virgil introduces them one and all as crowned 'civili . . . quercu,'¹¹ this tree-god must have been an oak-Jupiter. On a sarco-

phagus in the Mattei collection at Rome Rhea Silvia reclines beneath an oak-tree.¹² Romulus Silvius the eleventh in descent was a veritable Salmoeneus. Ovid¹³ describes him as 'Remulus...imitator fulminis'; and Dionysius,¹⁴ who calls him Alladius, says that 'in contempt of the gods he contrived mock thunderbolts and noises like thunder, wherewith he thought to frighten men as though he were a god. But a storm fraught with rain and lightning falling upon his house, and the lake near which it stood swelling in an unusual manner, he was drowned with his whole family.' Dionysius¹⁵ also records the tradition that Iulus, son of Ascanius, disputed the claim of the first Silvius to the throne: 'and to Iulus in place of the sovereignty a certain holy power and honour was given, preferable to the royal dignity both for security and for ease; and this his posterity enjoy down to the present time, being called Julii from him.' Now the name Iulus has been traced¹⁶ through the forms *Diovilus*, *Iovilus*, *Iohilus*, *Ioilus*, *Iulus*, and in all probability denoted originally a human Jupiter. It appears, then, that in the Alban district there were two lines of divine or priestly kings, both claiming affinity to Jupiter. The Julii probably lived in Bovillae at the foot of the mountain; for an ancient altar found there is inscribed¹⁷ *Vediovei Patrei genteiles Iuliei. Vedio[vei] aara leege Albana dicata*. Also Tiberius dedicated a chapel to the Julian gens at Bovillae, including a statue of the deified Augustus;¹⁸ and it is known that Circensian games were held there in honour of the same house.¹⁹ But where did the Silvii or 'Woodland' kings reside? Cicero²⁰ speaks of the 'nemora' of Jupiter

¹² C. Robert *die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* iii. 2, p. 229, pl. 60.

¹³ *Met.* 14. 617 f.

¹⁴ *Ant. Rom.* 1. 71.

¹⁵ *Ib.* 1. 70. Preller-Jordan ii. 336 n., cp. Diodor. ap. Euseb. i. 389 Aucher: Iulius autem imperio cedere coactus pontifex maximus constitutus fuit et fere secundus rex habebatur, a quo ortam Iuliam familiam hucusque perdurare aiunt.

¹⁶ Bücheler in *Rh. Mus.* 1889 xliii. 135, 1890 xlv. 323. See Stolz *Hist. Gramm. d. Lat. Spr.* i. 204, 460. The derivation of *Iulus* from *Iupiter* is asserted by the auctor *de origine gent. Rom.* 15. 5.

¹⁷ Dessau 2988. Another inscr. found at Castel Gandolfo on the Alban Lake mentions a certain L. Manlius, who was *rex sacrorum* and *quattuorvir* at Bovillae. Dessau 4942 suggests that he was *rex* at Bovillae, not Rome: but?

¹⁸ Tac. *ann.* 2. 41.

¹⁹ Tac. *ib.* 15. 23. See further Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa iii. 798 f.

²⁰ *Pro Mil.* 85.

¹ Liv. 3. 25.

² Liv. 1. 31. 3.

³ This may be inferred from the statement that the sow of Alba Longa was found 'sub ilicibus' (Verg. *Aen.* 8. 43, Auson. *epist.* 7. 17).

⁴ *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1861 p. 86.

⁵ *S.v.* 'oscillantes' p. 193 Lind., cp. schol. Bob. in Cic. *pro Planc.* p. 256.

⁶ Gell. 1. 12. 14, 19.

⁷ Roscher *Lex.* i. 266 f.

⁸ Juv. 4. 60 with Mayor's n.

⁹ Liv. 1. 2. 6, Plin. *n.h.* 3. 56, Serv. *Aen.* 1. 259, 4. 620.

¹⁰ See the lists in Marindin *Class. Dict.* s.v. 'Silvius.'

¹¹ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 772, an important passage to which Dr. Frazer drew my attention.

Latiaris. When, therefore, we recall the fact that a *rex Nemorensis* lived at Nemi on the lower slopes of the mountain and kept guard over a sacred tree in the precinct of Diana, it is tempting to suppose that he was the representative of the old Silvan dynasty. He was *ἑφύρης ἀεί* not only because he had to be constantly on the watch for assailants,¹ but also perhaps because, as Dr. Frazer first suggested in the *Golden Bough*¹ ii. 369 f., he personated Jupiter.² Dr. Frazer's further conjecture³ that he was originally put to death at the end of a set period would, on this showing, be supported by the practice of *oscillatio* at the *Feriae Latinae*: for, on the one hand, *oscilla* are undoubtedly relics of human sacrifice offered to tree-gods;⁴ and, on the other, Festus⁵ states that the *oscillatio* of the Latin panegyris was instituted because the body of Latinus, who was identified with Jupiter Latiaris, could not be found. Another trace of the human sacrifice is to be seen in the Roman custom of presenting to Jupiter Latiaris during the Latin festival the warm blood of a *bestiaris*.⁶ The race of four-horse chariots that took place at the same time on the Capitol,⁷ i.e. on the Capitolium Vetus, which was probably identical with the Collis Latiaris on the south side of the Quirinal,⁸ like the races at Olympia and elsewhere,⁹ may have sprung from an original contest for the post of priestly-king, a contest perpetuated in the *monomachia* of Nemi. When in 231 B.C. C. Papirius Maso introduced the practice of celebrating a lesser triumph on the Alban Mount,¹⁰ he was but expressing afresh the deep-seated belief of the Latini that the victor for the time being should be clad in the insignia of Jupiter Latiaris. Hence the large sceptre

surmounted by an eagle that he bears on a Praenestine *cista*.¹¹

Rome.

The earliest temple at Rome was that of Jupiter Feretrius planned by Romulus, when he had with his own hands slain the king of the Caeninenses and deposited his spoils on the Capitol 'at an oak held sacred by the shepherds.'¹² Prof. Ridgeway has argued that the Aborigines of Rome were akin to the Pelasgians.¹³ It would appear, then, that on the Roman Capitol there was the cult of an oak-Jupiter resembling the Pelasgian oak-Zeus. His title Feretrius is obviously derived from *feretrum*, the *feretrum* in question being a lopped trunk or wooden cross to which the votive armour was attached.¹⁴ This explanation fits both the literary and the monumental evidence. Plutarch¹⁵ says: 'Romulus, that he might pay his vow in a manner well-pleasing to Jupiter... cut down an enormous oak which was growing in the camp, trimmed it to the shape of a trophy, and fastened about it all the weapons of Acron in order due.' And again,¹⁶ 'Marcellus cut down the large straight stock of a flourishing oak and decked it like a trophy, binding and attaching thereto the spoils, which he arranged round it each in its suitable place.' Dionysius¹⁷ equates *Feretrius* with *τροπαιοῦχος*, *σκυλοφόρος*, *ὑπερφερέτης*; and Livy¹⁸ in his description of Romulus as 'spolia... suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens' implies a trophy-like support. The historians' words are illustrated by a denarius of the gens Cornelia,¹⁹ which shows M. Claudius Marcellus carrying a portable trophy of the usual type up the steps of a small tetrastyle building: he is presenting the *spolia opima* that he won in 222 B.C. from the Insubrian chief Viridomarus at the shrine of Jupiter Feretrius. This practice, which was indeed a definite law,²⁰ perhaps arose from the ancient custom that the king as priest of the oak-god must be able to slay all comers.²¹

¹ Strab. 239.

² Cp. Salmoneus on a vase already figured (*C.R.* xvii. 276). Zeus *Λαβρανδεύς* at Mylasa had a sword, as had Zeus *Χρυσαόπιος* at Stratonicea (*ib.* 417). Orestes founded a cult of Diana at Rhegium and 'left his sword in a tree' (*supra* p. 362 n. 3): Orestes founded a cult of Diana at Aricia (Serv. *Aen.* 6. 136) and the local priest is armed with a sword. The parallel suggests that the latter, like the former, was a divine weapon.

³ See *C.R.* xvi. 369.

⁴ Marindin in Smith *Dict. Ant.* 2 ii. 305. *Oscilla* are in effect the skulls of the victims: cp. *C.R.* xvii. 269 ff.

⁵ *S.v.* 'oscillantes' p. 193 Lind., cp. schol. Bob. in Cic. *pro Planc.* p. 256.

⁶ Tertull. *apol.* 9, *alib.* See Marquardt iii. 285 n.

⁷ Plin. *n.h.* 27. 45. The victor drank *absinthium*.

⁸ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 653.

⁹ *C.R.* xvii. 273 ff., 278, 411, xviii. 88.

¹⁰ Plin. *n.h.* 15. 126, Val. Max. 3. 6. 5.

¹¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 745 = *mon. ined.* x pl. 29.

¹² Liv. 1. 10. 5.

¹³ *E.A.* i. 254 ff.

¹⁴ See De-Vit *s.vv.* 'feretrum,' 'ferculum.'

¹⁵ *V. Rom.* 16.

¹⁶ *V. Marcell.* 8.

¹⁷ *Ant. Rom.* 2. 34.

¹⁸ Liv. 1. 10. 5, cp. Sil 5. 167 f. quis opima volenti | dona Iovi portet feretro suspensa cruento.

¹⁹ Babelon *Monn. de la Rép.* i. 352.

²⁰ Fest. *s.v.* 'opima' p. 190 Lind.

²¹ *C.R.* xvi. 377 n. 1, cp. xvii. 270 f. Another outcome of the same custom may be the Ludi Tarpei

We may here pause to note that the trophy commonly erected on a field of battle by Greek or Roman victors was nothing but a rude image of the oak-Zeus or oak-Jupiter in his character as war-god. Euripides¹ expressly terms it *Ζηνὸς . . . βέρας*; and Virgil² relates how it was fashioned out of an oak-tree—'ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis.' Thus the form of the trophy points backwards to the tree-cult and forwards to the anthropomorphic cult of the god. Before it came the 'Waffenbaum'³ e.g. an oak-tree decked with the spoils of war⁴; after it, the *xoanon*.⁵ Tree, quasi-tree, carved image are three stages in a progressive series. In the 'oak held sacred by the shepherds' we have the first; in the *feretrum* or trophy, the second; Jupiter Feretrius never reached the third.⁶

In his temple were kept two objects of peculiar sanctity, a sceptre and a piece of flint. Jupiter was immanent in both. 'The reason,' says Servius,⁷ 'why the sceptre is used when a treaty has to be made is this. Our forefathers on all such occasions were wont to produce an image of Jupiter. This was difficult, especially when the treaty was made with a distant tribe. A way out of the difficulty was for them to hold a sceptre and so copy as it were the image of Jupiter; for the sceptre is peculiar to himself.' Since we have elsewhere⁸ seen the sceptre of Zeus used as a substitute for the tree-god, we may fairly understand this sceptre of Jupiter Feretrius in the same sense. The flint-stone also was held to be 'antiquum Iovis signum'⁹; and the indwelling of the god in his symbol is attested by his alternative title, Jupiter Lapis.¹⁰ Modern opinion is divided as to whether the flint was worked or unworked.¹¹ On the one hand it was of such a sort that the Fetiales could take it

εἰς τὴν χεῖρα,¹² and slaughter a pig with it.¹³ On the other hand it is never described as a worked flint; and we are told¹⁴ that in 201 B.C. the Senate sent the Fetiales with several similar stones to Africa. On the whole it seems probable that it was an unhafted neolithic celt,¹⁵ preserved among the Aborigines of Latium from an immemorial past.¹⁶ These celts certainly aroused the religious awe of the ancients: sundry extant specimens bear Gnostic or Mithraic inscriptions,¹⁷ and Pliny¹⁸ mentions *cerauniae* 'resembling axes.' They were, then, taken to be thunderbolts—a world-wide superstition.¹⁹ I conclude that the 'lapis silex' of Jupiter Feretrius was the weapon and symbol of the sky-god, just as the stone axe in the palace of Minos was the weapon and symbol of Zeus.²⁰

But was the sky-god also a water-god and an earth-god? His connexion with water is best known by the primitive ceremony of the *aqualicium* or *aquilicium*.²¹ In time of drought the *pontifices* took a stone called the *manalis lapis* from its normal position near the temple of Mars outside the Porta Capena and drew it into the city. It was attended by matrons with bare feet and streaming hair and by the magistrates without their tokens of office. This stone was probably a baetyl of Jupiter Elicius;²² for Petronius²³ with reference to the procession says 'Iovem aquam exorabant,' and Tertullian,²⁴ 'aquilicia Iovis immolatis, nudipedalia populo denuntiatis.' Now the title Elicius was also spelt Ilicius, and I have already suggested that Jupiter Ilicius was Jupiter of the oak (*ilex*).²⁵ This suggestion is borne out by what we know of the locality.²⁶ The Porta Capena adjoined the Porta Querquetulana,²⁷ inside which was an

¹² Polyb. 3. 25. 7.

¹³ Liv. 1. 24. 8 f., 9. 5. 3, Serv. *Aen.* 8. 641.

¹⁴ Liv. 30. 43. 9.

¹⁵ For Italian neoliths see Sir J. Evans *Stone Implements*² Index p. 745 f.

¹⁶ On the Terramare (Neolithic to Bronze Age) civilisation of Latium, see Ridgeway *E.A.* i. 234 ff. On its connexion with the Aborigines and Pelasgians, *ib.* 254 ff.

¹⁷ Sir J. Evans *Stone Implements*² p. 61 ff, fig. 11.

¹⁸ *N.h.* 37. 135.

¹⁹ Sir J. Evans *op. cit.* p. 56 ff.

²⁰ *C.R.* xvii. 408.

²¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 658. On Jupiter Imbricitor, Pluvius, Pluvialis, see Preller-Jordan i. 190 n. 1.

²² Roscher *ib.* 656 ff.

²³ *Sat.* 44.

²⁴ *Apol.* 40.

²⁵ *C.R.* xvii. 270.

²⁶ Note also the term *nudipedalia*, which recalls the cult at Dodona, where the priests of the oak-Zeus were ἀνιπρόποδες: *C.R.* xvii. 180, cp. 186.

²⁷ Schneider *das alte Rom* plan 4 ff.

or Capitolini instituted by Romulus in honour of Jupiter Feretrius (Piso *frag.* 7 Peter). The prize in the *certamen Capitolinum* founded by Domitian was an oak-wreath (Juv. 6. 387, Stat. *silv.* 5. 3. 231, Mart. 4. 54. 1, 9. 24. 5).

¹ *Phoen.* 1250.

² *Aen.* 11. 5.

³ Bötticher *Baumkultus* p. 71 ff.

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 10. 423, Lucan 1. 136 ff., Stat. *Theb.* 2. 707 ff., Claud. in *Rufin.* 1. 339. See *C.R.* xviii. 84 n. 2.

⁵ Bötticher *op. cit.* p. 215 ff.

⁶ Unless indeed Tib. 1. 10. 20 'stabat in exigua ligneus aede deus' can be referred to a *xoanon* of him. But this is very doubtful: see Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 555, n. 19.

⁷ *Aen.* 12. 206.

⁸ At Chaeronea: *C.R.* xvii. 277.

⁹ Serv. *Aen.* 8. 641.

¹⁰ Gell. 1. 21. 4, cp. Polyb. 3. 25. 6 f.

¹¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 674 ff.

oak-grove under the protection of the Querquetulanae Virae.¹ Immediately outside the Porta Capena, *i.e.* in the spot from which the *manalis lapis* was taken, was the Nemus Egeriae,² a wood sacred to an oak-nymph,³ whose name not improbably connects with αἰγρεος in its earlier sense of 'oak.'⁴ Ovid⁵ describes the wooded base of the Aventine as 'black with the shade of the *ilex*'—a likely home for Jupiter *Ilicius*. Here, he says,⁶ 'a perpetual spring of water *manabat saxo*'—an allusion perhaps to the *manalis lapis*. He further relates that Numa, when the people was panic-stricken by continual lightnings and rain, repaired to this wood, caught Picus and Faunus by guile, induced them to call Jupiter down from heaven, and in a famous colloquy persuaded him to accept surrogates for human sacrifice.⁷ The conception of Jupiter as at once sky-god and water-god runs through the whole myth.

Again, it was probably as a water-god that Jupiter mated Juturna,⁸ an ancient Latin goddess of 'lakes and sounding rivers,'⁹ whose name is clearly related to his own. At Rome Juturna figures in connexion with a small group of buildings in the Forum, the antiquity of which is proved by the fact that they have the trapezoidal form commonly found in the terramare villages of Italy.¹⁰ The old water-house of Juturna, the pit beneath the hearth of Vesta, the Regia, the Niger Lapis, the Tullianum, are all trapezoidal in structure and belong to the Aborigines¹¹ of Rome. Juturna's well-head stood next to the house of the Vestals and must have been used by them.¹² 'The little group of the thatched hut beside the spring was completed by a grove of oak-trees, growing on the side of the Palatine. In this grove fuel was once cut for the sacred fire, which might only burn the wood of oaks,¹³ or in later times, of

other "fruitful" trees Some of its trees were still standing in the time of Cicero,¹⁴ and the memory of it had not died away even in the third century A.D., for a bough of oak, the "*quercus robur*" of Jove, appears behind the last Temple of Vesta on the Uffizi bas-relief.'¹⁵ The immense importance attached by the Romans to the maintenance of the fire on Vesta's hearth is to be explained not by the mere necessity of keeping a fire alight for secular purposes, but by the primitive belief that the priestly-king, the representative of the sun-god, can thus by mimetic magic preserve the very forces of the sun.¹⁶ When through negligence the fire went out, it had to be rekindled by means of a fire-drill,¹⁷ a process which symbolised the revolution of the sun itself.¹⁸

Lastly, the Romans recognised a chthonian Jupiter in Vediovis, whose character is clear from the devotion-formula *Dis pater Veiovis Manes* etc.,¹⁹ from the translation of his name as τοῦ καταχθονίου Διός,²⁰ and from direct statements such as that of Martianus Capella²¹: 'Pluton quem etiam Ditem Veiovemque dixere.' He too was an oak-god, as may be inferred not only from the site of his sanctuary μεθόριον δνοῶν δρυμῶν²² but also from the oak-wreath that he wears on coins of the Fonteii, Gargilii, and Ogulnii.²³ Moreover, that he was sky-god and water-god as well as earth-god appears from his attributes, the thunderbolt²⁴ and the trident.²⁵ We have already found him worshipped at Bovillae by the Julii, who were the royal priests and human representatives of Jupiter.²⁶

If the Romans had thus from a very early period believed in Jupiter as supreme over a threefold domain, there was a foundation 1900 p. 172, fig. 17)—a point to which Dr. Frazer first drew my attention.

¹⁴ *De div.* 1. 101.

¹⁵ *Notizie degli Scavi* 1900 p. 161, fig. 2, Hülsen *das Forum Romanum* p. 157, fig. 78. The extract in the text is from Mrs. Burton-Brown's book p. 38 f.

¹⁶ *C.R.* xvii. 185. See further *Folk-Lore* xv. (1904) 'The European Sky-god.'

¹⁷ Paul. *exc.* Fest. s.v. 'ignis' p. 78 Lind.

¹⁸ *C.R.* xvii. 419 ff., xviii. 327 with context. Cp. Flor. 1. 2. 3 focum Vestae virginibus colendum dedit (sc. Numa) ut ad simulacrum caelestium siderum custos imperii flamma vigilaret. Is this a mere rhetorical flourish?

¹⁹ Macro. 3. 9. 10.

²⁰ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 10. 3. See Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Römer* p. 190.

²¹ 2. 166.

²² Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 15.

²³ Babelon *monn. de la Rép.* i. 507, 532, ii. 266.

²⁴ *Ib.* i. 281, 506 ff., 532, ii. 8, 133, 266.

²⁵ *Ib.* ii. 6, 8.

²⁶ *Supra* p. 363.

¹ Fest. s.v. 'Querquetulanae virae' p. 221 Lind.

² Schneider *l.c.*

³ Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 9 νυμφῶν μίαν δρυάδων.

⁴ Schrader *Reallex.* p. 207 connects αἰγρεος with αἰγίλαψ, αἰγανήν. The change from **Ageria* to *Egeria* was due to popular etymology (Paul. *exc.* Fest. s.v. 'Egeriae' p. 58 Lind.): cp. the form 'Eryeplav (Plut. *l.c.*).

⁵ *Fest.* 3. 295.

⁶ *Ib.* 298.

⁷ *C.R.* xvii. 269 f.

⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 12. 140 f., Ov. *fast.* 2. 585 ff.

⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 12. 139.

¹⁰ Burton-Brown *Rec. Excav. in the Rom. Forum* p. 21 f.

¹¹ *Supra* p. 365 n. 16.

¹² Burton-Brown *op. cit.* p. 20.

¹³ Comm. Boni actually found the charred remains of these oak-logs on the spot (*Notizie degli Scavi*

of popular faith for certain phrases used by their poets and certain statements made by their philosophers. The poets know Jupiter not only as sky-god but also as Jupiter aequoreus¹ and as Jupiter Stygius,² Tartareus,³ infernus,⁴ niger,⁵ etc.; so that Ovid⁶ can say: 'Iupiter arces | temperat aetherias et mundi regna *triformis*.' The systematisers of theology⁷ also recognised three Jupiters, the son of Aether born in Arcadia, the son of Caelus (or Saturn) also an Arcadian by birth, and the son of Saturn born and buried in Crete.

Of the triple Jupiter no three-bodied or three-headed or three-eyed representations are extant. But it is noteworthy that tradition⁸ brought to Rome a certain Argus, who was entertained by Evander but on plotting the king's death was killed by his comrades and buried at the Argiletum. Other accounts⁹ made Argus killed by Evander himself, or stated that he was the brother of Argeus and son of Phineus and Danae who settled in Rome and was there put to death by the Aborigines. These traditions point to a Pelasgian or Aboriginal Argus at Rome, who should be compared with the Pelasgian Argus (= the three-eyed Zeus¹⁰) in Greece. To the same Pelasgian or Aboriginal stratum belong the *argei* or *sexagenarii*, the superannuated representatives of a tree-god whose institution was traced back to the oak-Zeus of Dodona.¹¹ We thus obtain fresh confirmation of the conjecture that early Rome had a triple oak-Jupiter corresponding to the triple oak-Zeus¹² of Argos. Now Greek vases¹³ show Argos Πανόπτης with a Janiform head, which—since he was the triple Zeus—may be regarded as a modification of a three-

faced head. This suggests the possibility that certain Janiform heads of Jupiter are to be similarly explained: there is one in the Palazzo Spada at Rome,¹⁴ and another on a coin of Geta¹⁵ (Fig. 2), which shows a

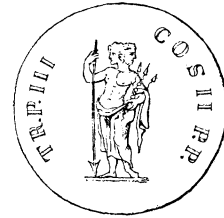


FIG. 2.

double-headed Jupiter armed with a thunderbolt and a spear (Jupiter Quirinus?). Indeed Janus himself may have been originally *τριπρόσωπος*. As such he is portrayed on a middle-brass of Hadrian¹⁶: he stands facing us, a bearded figure with one hand resting on his hip and the other holding a sceptre, while his three visages are distinctly seen, one full-face, the other two in profile. Further, the Celtic three-headed god, of whom I shall have more to say elsewhere, has been identified with Janus.¹⁷

The existence of a triple Janus supports my argument for the existence of a triple Jupiter, since, as Dr. Frazer pointed out to me, there are strong reasons for believing that Janus was only another form of Jupiter.¹⁸ To begin with, his name connects with Ζεύς, *Jupiter*, etc.,¹⁹ and the following pairs of divinities should be equated:

¹⁴ *Ib.* p. 91 f.

¹⁵ *Ib.* p. 92.

¹⁶ Cohen *Descr. des monn. imp.* 2 ii. 129, nos. 281, 282. R. Mowat in the *Bulletin épigraphique* iii. 168 takes this to be Janus Quadrifrons with his fourth face concealed. It is probable that Janus with four faces (Macrobius 1. 9. 13, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1, Suid. s.v. 'Ἰανωτάριος, *alib.*) was an amplification, not of Janus with three faces, but of Janus with two; for Janus Quadrifrons was also called Janus Geminus (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 8). Similar relations appear to have subsisted between Hermes τετρακέφαλος (Hesych. s.v. 'Ερμῆς τρικέφαλος, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 172, 2, 3), Hermes τρικέφαλος (Aristoph. *frag.* 468 D., Philochor. *ap.* Harpocr. s.v. τρικέφαλος, *alib.*: Tzetz. Lyc. 680 states that according to some authorities Hermes had three heads ὡς οὐράνιος, θαλάσσιος καὶ ἐπιγίγιος) and Hermes δικάφαλος (Roscher *Lex.* i. 2415 ff.).

¹⁷ S. Reinach *Bronzes figurés* p. 187 f.

¹⁸ S. Linde de *Iano summo Romanorum deo* Lund 1891. The question 'an Iani et Iovis recta discretio sit' is discussed from a religious and philosophical point of view by Aug. *de civ. D.* 7. 10.

¹⁹ See Corssen *Ausspr.* 2 i. 212 and the lit. cited in Dar.-Sagl. iii. 610.

¹ Claud. *de cons. Mall. Theod.* 282. Cp. Dessau 3027 (Beneventum) *Iovi tutelari maris*.

² Verg. *Aen.* 4. 638, *Ov. fast.* 5. 448, *alib.*

³ Val. Flacc. 1. 730, Sil. 2. 674.

⁴ Sen. *H.F.* 47, cp. Prudent. *c. Symmach.* 1. 388.

⁵ Sil. 8. 116, Stat. *Theb.* 2. 49.

⁶ *Met.* 15. 858 f.

⁷ Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14, cp. Ampel. 9.

⁸ Serv. *Aen.* 8. 345.

⁹ Interp. Serv. *ib.*

¹⁰ *C.R.* xviii. 75, 82.

¹¹ *Ib.* xvii. 269 n.2.

¹² That the triple Zeus of Argos was an oak-god appears not only from his connexion with Phorbas (*C.E.* xviii. 76), but also from an amethyst at Florence (Panofka *Argos Panoptes* Berlin 1838 pl. 1, 2) which shows Argus as guardian of the cow Io seated under a tree that is part oak, part olive, and from a paste at Berlin (Creuzer *Symbolik* 3 ii. 323, pl. 8, 28) on which he is beheaded by Hermes beside a similar oak-olive (see *C.R.* xvii. 273 and xviii. 88).

¹³ Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 476, 478, Dar.-Sagl. i. 419 fig. 508.

{ Ζεύς (Ζᾶν κ.τ.λ.) and Διώνη.
 { *Dianus* (*Janus*) and *Diana* (*Jana*).
 { *Jupiter* and *Juno*.

Next note that Jupiter was actually surnamed Janus; for an inscription from Aquileia records a dedication *Iovi Diano*.¹ Conversely, several titles of Janus recall Jupiter. Thus the oldest hymns of the Salii spoke of him as 'deorum deus,'² and he was often invoked as *Ianus pater*³ or *Ianuspater*.⁴ Again, according to one version⁵ Janus not Jupiter was the mate of Juturna; and the title Janus Junonius⁶ implies a similar relation to Juno. On certain occasions joint offerings were made to Janus and Jupiter,⁷ or to Janus and Juno,⁸ or to Janus and Jupiter and Juno.⁹ Janus alone took precedence of Jupiter in the divine hierarchy¹⁰ and the *rex sacrorum*, who seems to have been in a sense his special priest, took similar precedence of the *flamen Dialis*.¹¹ In view of these facts I would venture to suggest that Janus was the name under which Jupiter was worshipped by the Aborigines of Rome, a tribe—as Prof. Ridgeway has shown¹²—akin to the Pelasgians, and that, when these Aborigines were conquered by the incoming Italians, their ancient deity Janus and his

consort Jana were retained side by side with the Italian Jupiter and Juno. Herodian¹³ calls Janus θεὸν ἀρχαῖότατον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιχώριον; Labeo¹⁴ terms him Πατρίκιον ὡσεὶ ἀντόχονα; and Septimius Serenus¹⁵ says of him: 'tibi vetus ara caluit *Aborigineo* sacello.'

Whether the three-headed Janus was an oak-god, we do not know for certain. But it is probable. The oak sacred to Thybris,¹⁶ his son,¹⁷ points in that direction. When the Plebs seceded to the Janiculum, an ancient seat of Janus, it was in a grove of oaks that Q. Hortensius the dictator passed his famous law 'ut quod ea iussisset omnes Quirites teneret.'¹⁸ Plutarch¹⁹ states that Marcellus fashioned a trophy out of a large oak-tree and presented it to Jupiter Fere-trius; but Virgil and Servius make him present it to Quirinus, and according to the rule quoted by Festus from the *libri pontificum* the precise dedication should have been 'Ianui Quirino.'²⁰ This title *Quirinus* which is elsewhere borne by Janus,²¹ I take to mean 'the oak-god' (conn. *quer-cu-s*, πρῖνο-s),²²

¹³ 1. 49.

¹⁴ *Ap. Lyd. de mens.* 4. 1.

¹⁵ Bährens *P.L.M. fragg.* p. 387.

¹⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 10. 423.

¹⁷ Serv. *Aen.* 8. 330.

¹⁸ Plin. *n. h.* 16. 37, cp. Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 42 and the *vicus Aescloti* on the Tiber-bank opposite to the Janiculum (Pauly-Wissowa i. 682).

¹⁹ *V. Marcell.* 8.

²⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 859, Serv. *ad loc.*, Fest. *s.v.* 'opima' p. 190 Lind.

²¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 16 and 40.

²² This view submitted to Prof. Conway elicited the following reply (Jan. 10, 1903): 'First as to *Quirinus*. Further reflexion attracts me greatly to your derivation; the word seems so exactly the counterpart of Gr. πρῖνος, which properly would be an adjective (and thence a derivative substantive meaning 'the tree rather like an oak'): I should therefore trace it not to **Querinus* (though I do not say, and I doubt if any one can, that this form could not have given *quirinus*) but to *qu(r)inus* the almost literal equivalent of Gr. πρῖνος=IEu. q^hr-inos. The meaning of *Quirites* 'oaken-spear-men' would be excellent. Further it gives, at last, an excellent meaning for the Sabine town *Cures* (for **Quires* probably) i.e. "The Oaks," [The country about Cures abounded in oaks: Strab. 228. J.G.F.] and explains the connexion felt between this name and *Quirites* for which there has hitherto been no historical explanation that I know of. Mars *Quirinus* the god 'of the oak' is very parallel to your Dodonaean Zeus. As to the influence of an *i* in a neighbouring syllable, which, I suggest, converted **Quirinus* into *Quirinus*, cf. diligit, colligit, as against negligit, primitivus against genetivus (Brugmann *Grundr.* i² § 244, 3). These are near, but not quite parallel. No one has yet collected examples of the changes in pre-tonic syllables like *Quir* in *Quirinus*, but some changes there certainly were.'

Dr. J. H. Moulton, whom I consulted on the same subject, wrote to me last June as follows: '*quirinus*,

¹ *C.I.L.* v. 783.

² Macrob. 1. 9. 14, 16. Varro *de ling. Lat.* 7. 27 quotes a Salian line in which the phrase 'divom deo' occurs. He has also (*ib.* 26) preserved five lines of a Salian hymn which, if we could be sure of the reading *o Zeu* (Lindsay *Lat. lang.* p. 5), would prove that the Salii identified Janus with Zeus. Bährens *P.L.M. fragg.* p. 30 prints them thus: Ozeül, o dómine, es ómnium | patér! Patúlci, Cloési, | es iáneüs, iánés es! | duónús cerís es oénus, | promé-lios déuom récum. Procl. *hymn.* 6. 3, 15 addresses Janus as Zeus: χαῖρ' Ἰανὲ πρόπατορ, Ζεῦ ἄφθιτε, χαῖρ' ὕπατε Ζεῦ.

³ Macrob. 1. 9. 15, Cat. *de re rust.* 134, Hor. *epist.* 1. 16. 59, cp. *sat.* 2. 6. 20, Verg. *Aen.* 8. 357, Juv. 6. 393, Arnob. 3. 29, Dessau 3320, 3323, 3325, 5047 f., *alib.*

⁴ Gell. 5. 12. 5, cp. Dessau 3322 Ianipatri, 3324 Iani patro.

⁵ Arnob. 3. 29.

⁶ Macrob. 1. 9. 15 f., 1. 15. 19, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1, Serv. *Aen.* 7. 610.

⁷ Cat. *de re rust.* 141 lustration of farm.

⁸ Macrob. 1. 9. 16, 1. 15. 19 all Kalends. Cp. Wissowa *Rel. u. Kull. d. Römer*, p. 91 f. In Verg. *Aen.* 7. 620, Ov. *fast.* 1. 265 f., it is Juno who opens the gates of Janus: cp. Serv. *Aen.* 2. 610, 7. 610. Moreover Civ. *de n. d.* 2. 68 equates Juno Lucina with Diana Omnivaga, i.e. with the consort of Janus.

⁹ Cat. *de re rust.* 134 before harvesting.

¹⁰ Cic. *de n. d.* 2. 67, Arnob. 3. 29, Macrob. 1. 9. 9: exx. in Liv. 8. 9. 6, Cat. *de re rust.* 134, 141, Dessau 5047 f.

¹¹ Preller-Jordan i. 64, Wissowa *op. cit.* p. 20, Roscher *Lex.* ii. 43. See also Dict. Ant. *s.v.* 'Agonalia.'

¹² *E. A. i.* 254 ff.

quiris, the Sabine *curis*,¹ being the 'oaken spear,'² and *Quirites*, the 'men of the oaken spear.'³ Now a tree-god is often represented by a post or sceptre or spear.⁴ In the Tigillum Sororium,⁵ adjoining which were altars to Juno Sororia and to Janus Curiatius, I would recognise such a representation of the triple Janus. It was a trixylon composed of two vertical beams and a cross-bar; and the 'trigemini Horatii et Curiatii,' with whose legend it was connected, were possibly the champions of the triple god.⁶ The Tigillum Sororium is expressly compared⁷ with the 'yoke,' under which conquered troops were made to pass: this too, being an erection of three staves⁸ or spears,⁹ may well have been a symbol of Janus Quirinus. Finally, every door, since it consisted of a lintel and two side-posts, was sacred to Janus¹⁰ and named after him: *ianua* is derived from *Ianus*, not *Ianus* from *ianua*.

Diana or Jana was likewise *triceps*, *triformis*, *triplex*, *tergeminā*,¹¹ and an oak-goddess. One of her most famous cults was

etc. will fit *πῑῑος* very well if we suppose a word like *q̄ri* or *q̄rri*, "an oak," or (incorporating the suffix, which might be like the -en in *oaken*), *q̄rri*nos: in view of *quirites* I rather prefer the former. In that case we must entirely separate *quercus*, Idg. *perq̄u-*, to which belong *fir*, Skt. *parkatī*, and the derivatives *Erku-nia* (Keltic *Her-cynia*), Norse *Fiorgynn*, Lith. *Perkūnas*, O Slav. *Perūnu*, and (I think possibly) Skt. *Parjanya*. The similarity of *quercus* and *quirinus* will be accidental like that of *sorry* and *sorrow*, etc.'

It should be added that Schrader *Preh. Antiqq.* p. 272 n. 1 connected *quer-c-us* with *πῑῑ-v-os* (for **q̄ri-no-s*, cp. *quer-n-us*); and that Linde *de Iano* etc. p. 43 f. referred the title *Quirinus* to the root of *quercus*, though he took it to mean 'the god of the strong, fortified place' not 'the oak-god.'

¹ Conway, *Italic Dialects*, i. 353.

² Cp. *δῶρον* and *δῑῑς*, *αἰγῑῑν* and *aesculus* (*aeg-sculus). In Val. Fl. 6. 243 *quercu* = 'spear.'

³ Cp. Fest. p. 196 Lind. *Pitumnos poploe* in carmine Saliari Romani velut pilis uti assueti.

⁴ Bötticher *Baumkultus* p. 226 ff., 232 ff. Id. *ib.* 238 argues that Janus Quirinus was represented by the spears or staves of the Salii.

⁵ Fest. s.v. 'Sororium tigillum,' p. 240 Lind., *alib.* Cp. Jupiter Tigillus (Aug. *de civ. D.* 7. 11).

⁶ The cognomen Trigeminus recurs in the plebeian gens Curiatia (Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 1831): cp. Tricipitinus the father of Lucretia (Liv. 1. 59. 8, Cic. *de rep.* 2. 47, *de legg.* 2. 10) and perhaps the Italian family of the Trivulzi, whose crest was a three-faced head (A. Heiss *les médailles de la renaissance* Vittore Pisano, pp. 19, 33 no. 7).

⁷ Liv. 1. 26. 13, *alib.*

⁸ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 3. 22.

⁹ Liv. 3. 28. 11.

¹⁰ Preller-Jordan, i. 172 f.

¹¹ Ov. *met.* 7. 194 *triceps* Hecate: Hor. *od.* 3. 22. 4 *diva triformis*, *alib.*: Ov. *her.* 12. 79 *triplicis vultus*...Dianae, *alib.*: Verg. *Aen.* 4. 511 *tergeminamque* Hecaten, *tria virginis ora* Dianae.

that on the Mons Tifata near Capua, and Paulus¹² interprets *tifata* by *iliceta*, 'oak groves.' He adds: 'Romae autem *Tifata curia*,'¹³ which suggests that the word *curia* (cp. *curis*, Janus *Curiatius*, etc.) originally denoted an 'oak-grove.' It has long been held that *curia* is related to *Quirites*,¹⁴ and it is highly probable that the local council would meet in the grove of the local oak-god: the Galatian senate met at *Δρυ-νέμετος*¹⁵; the Romans, as we have just seen, in *aesculeto*. That the sacred tree of Diana at Nemi was an oak is probable from the fact that the grove in which it stood was sacred to Egeria¹⁶ the oak-nymph. Another important cult-centre of Diana was on the oak-clad Mt. Algidus.¹⁷ The chief temple of Diana at Rome was on the Aventine,¹⁸ whose slopes were covered in early days with the oak-wood of Picus and Faunus¹⁹: Picus (= *δρυκολάπτης*) was constantly associated with the oak-cult, and Faunus was the husband of an oak-nymph.²⁰ A 'very great and venerable sanctuary of Diana' was on the Caeliolus,²¹ which formed part of the Mons Querquetulanus.²² There was also an ancient Dianium on the Fagutal²³: the beech-trees of the spot may have been a ritual, as they were certainly an etymological (*φῑγγός* = *fagus*), equivalent for oaks; Varro²⁴ in his account of the Esquiline mentions the view that it was so called 'ab eo quod *aescul[is]* consil[is]tae a rege Tullio essent' and supports it by the statement that there were in the vicinity 'lucus... facutalis et Larum Querquetulanum sacellum.' The same change from oak to beech may have taken place on the hill called Corne near Tusculum, where Diana was worshipped in an ancient grove 'fagei nemoris.'²⁵ The cult of an oak-Diana is well illustrated by a relief in the Palazzo Colonna at Rome, reproduced as Fig. 3 (= Bötticher *Baumkultus* Fig. 26).²⁶ An old but fruitful oak stands in a walled enclosure, its trunk

¹² Paul. *exc.* Fest. p. 156 Lind.

¹³ Cp. *ib.* p. 38 Lind. *Curiati fana* (Scal. *Curia tifata*) a Curio dicta, quia eo loco domum habuerat.

¹⁴ Stolz *Hist. Gramm. d. Lat. Spr.* i. 253 f.

¹⁵ Strab. 567.

¹⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 7. 763, 775.

¹⁷ Hor. *od.* 1. 21. 6, c. *saec.* 69, cp. *od.* 3. 23. 9 f.

¹⁸ Liv. 1. 45, *alib.*

¹⁹ Ov. *fast.* 3. 295.

²⁰ Plut. *v. Caes.* 9.

²¹ Cic. *de har. resp.* 32.

²² Tac. *ann.* 4. 65.

²³ *C.R.* xvi. 380 n. 3.

²⁴ *De ling. Lat.* 15.

²⁵ Plin. *n. h.* 16. 242.

²⁶ Th. Schreiber *die Hellenistischen Reliefbilder* pl. 15.

bound with a fillet. Beside it is a column with fillets and a lighted torch, supporting an oil-vessel or lamp (?). Close by is a small circular building, from which rises a baetylic pillar bearing another fillet and a couple of lighted torches. In the foreground is a statue of Diana wearing a fawn-skin and carrying a young doe on her shoulder. The whole design points clearly to the maintenance of a perpetual fire before the oak: Diana Nemorensis was surnamed Vesta.¹

The connexion between Diana and the oak corresponds to that between Artemis and the oak. The oak-Diana at Nemi is parallel to Artemis *Σαπωνίς* or *Σαπωνία*

at Ephesus was set up by the Amazon Hippo *φηγῶ ὑπ' εὐπρέμνω*,⁶ and statues of the Ephesian Artemis are decorated with a necklace of acorns.⁷ Neleus founded Miletus on the site of a fine oak-tree out of which he had made a *xoanon* of Artemis.⁸ Coins of the Acarnanian League show Artemis in a wreath of oak⁹: on the oak-wreath of Hecate see *C.R.* xviii. 80. Lastly, Aristophanes¹⁰ salutes Artemis as 'the Maid that haunts the oak-clad hills.'

S. Linde argues that the dea Dia worshipped by the Arval Brothers was but another form of Diana or Jana¹¹: cp. the relation of *Δία* to *Διώνη* in Greece.¹² Peculiar sanctity attached to the oak-trees of her

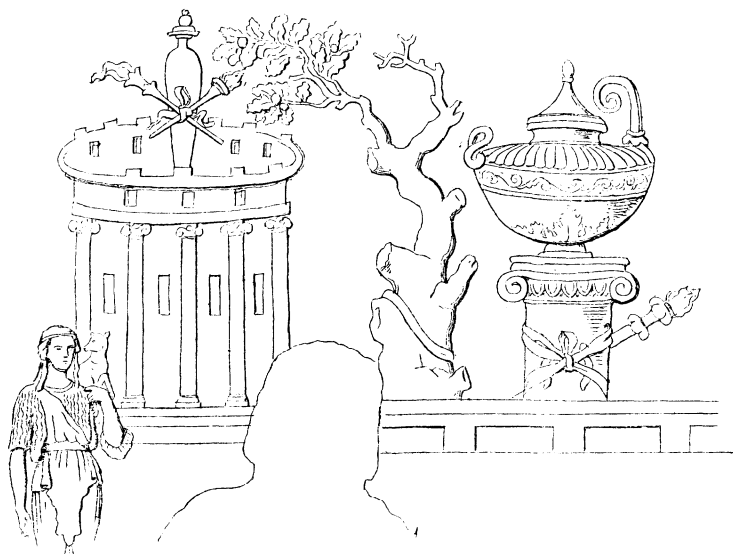


FIG. 3.

(*σαπωνίς* = 'old oak') at Troezen.² Virbius was to the former what Hippolytus was to the latter, and so was naturally regarded as Hippolytus redivivus³: the name *Virbius* is, I conceive, identical with that of *Ἴρβος*, the father of Astrabacus and Alopecus, who found the *xoanon* of Artemis *Λυγοδέσμη* at Sparta.⁴ The *rex Nemorensis* perhaps had his counterpart in king *Σάπων*, i.e. king 'Oak,' at Troezen.⁵ Again, the first image of Artemis

grove near Rome; for one of the *acta fratrum Arvalium* for the year 87 A.D. runs — 'in luco deae Diae, quod ramus ex arbore ilicina ob [v]etustatem deciderit, piaculum factum est per calatorem et [p]ublicos.'¹³ Her temple was round like that of Vesta and on its holy table were set out archaic *ollae* like those of Vesta.¹⁴

It is tolerably clear, then, that Janus

¹ Dessau 3243.

² Paus. 2. 30. 7, 2. 32. 10, Hesych. s.v. *Σαπωνία* Ἀρτέμις.

³ Verg. *Aen.* 7. 761 ff., Serv. *ad loc.*, Ov. *met.* 15. 543 ff.

⁴ Paus. 3. 16. 9. Steuding in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 317 had on other grounds conjectured that *Ἴρβος* belonged to 'den Kreis der Vegetationsdämonen.'

⁵ Paus. 2. 30. 7.

⁶ Call. *h. Dian.* 238 f.

⁷ E.g. Baumeister *Denkm.* p. 131, fig. 133.

⁸ Schol. Call. *h. Iov.* 77.

⁹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Thessaly, etc. p. 169, pl. 27, 5.

¹⁰ *Thesm.* 114 f.

¹¹ Linde *de Iano* etc. p. 9.

¹² *C.R.* xvii. 177 f.

¹³ Dessau 5045.

¹⁴ Pauly-Wissowa ii. 1472, Roscher *Lex.* i. 967.

and Jana were both triple oak-deities worshipped by the Aborigines of Rome. Tradition said that Janus reigned as a king on the Janiculum,¹ which probably implies that the local *rex* was regarded as the incarnation of Janus and bore his name. This belief in Janus incarnate has left traces of itself at a much later date. Coins of the gens Pompeia represent a double-headed Janus with the features of Pompey,² and coins of Commodus make the emperor Janiform.³ The primitive folk over whom king Janus reigned claimed to be sprung from oak-trees⁴ and—as we now know—buried their infant dead in trunks of oak,⁵ very possibly with some idea of re-birth.⁶

I have suggested that, when the Aborigines were overcome by the Italians, Jupiter took his place beside Janus and by degrees ousted that deity from his ancient pre-eminence. Throughout the whole of Roman history there was a latent belief in 'humani Ioves.'⁷ Not only did kings, dictators, triumphing generals, and praetors presiding at the games wear the insignia of Jupiter, but as soon as the empire was established there was a recrudescence of the belief that the ruling monarch was Jupiter incarnate. Julius Caesar was actually worshipped under the title *Jupiter* and provided with M. Antonius as *flamen Dialis*⁸—a most singular case of history repeating itself; for we have seen that the Julii of yore were human Jupiters.⁹ Greek coins name Livia the wife of Augustus ΑΙΒΙΑΝ·ΗΠΑΝ.¹⁰ Caligula assumed the title *Optimus Maximus* and had the head of a famous Greek statue of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος replaced by a head of himself. He was also saluted as Jupiter Latiaris,¹¹ a fact perhaps connected with his assassination of the rex Nemorensis¹² who seems to have personated that god.¹³ Domitian was

called Ζεύς¹⁴ and *Jupiter*¹⁵ by the poets. A dedication to Hadrian as *Iovi Olympio* is extant.¹⁶ Oppian¹⁷ speaks of Septimius Severus as 'the Ausonian Ζεύς.' Diocletian aped the majesty of Jupiter and took the name *Iovius*.¹⁸ This identification of the emperor with Jupiter doubtless inspired many works of art: e.g. the cornelian at Berlin here figured (Fig. 4),¹⁹ which repre-



FIG. 4.

sents two Jupiters with thunderbolt and eagle-tipped sceptre seated side by side, may have been meant to suggest that the terrestrial Jupiter was as potent as his celestial counterpart—²⁰ cp. Mart. 9. 86. 8 utrumque Iovem, i.e. Domitian and Jupiter. It would thus afford a Roman parallel to the central scene of the Parthenon frieze, which—if I may hazard a conjecture—depicts the βασιλεύς and βασιλίσσα of Athens about to receive the sacred *peplos* and two thrones from their respective attendants: the king perhaps wearing the former and seated, with his consort, on the latter, will then take his place among the enthroned deities on either hand. A signed cornelian in the Orleans collection is described by S. Reinach as 'Jupiter ou Auguste en Jupiter,' the latter view being taken by most archaeologists.²¹ A cameo formerly in the Marlborough cabinet shows Claudius as Jupiter.²² And similar portraits of emperors in the guise of Jupiter are known in statuary also.²³

Much of the pomp affected by the Roman emperors was due to this rôle of human

¹ Arnob. 3. 29, Macrob. 1. 7. 19, Serv. *Aen.* 8. 319.

² Babelon *monn. de la Rép.* ii. 351.

³ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 52 n., Dar.-Sagl. iii. 612.

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 8. 315. Cp. *C.R.* xv. 322 ff. and *Anth. Pal.* 9. 312. 5 f. Zonas Sardinianus κοκύναι γὰρ ἔλεξαν | αὐτὴν ὡς πρότεροι πατέρες ἐν τῇ δρυὶ.

⁵ G. Boni *Bimbi Romulei* Roma 1904 pp. 7, 9, 13, 17 figures the oak-trunks with their contents.

⁶ *C.R.* xvii. 83 f.

⁷ Plaut. *Cas.* 334.

⁸ Cass. Dio 44. 6. 4, cp. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 110.

⁹ *Supra* p. 363. Caesar had a palatial villa built for himself at Nemi (Suet. *Jul.* 46): was this due to a reminiscence of the royal position once held there by the Julii?

¹⁰ Stevenson *Dict. Coins* p. 247.

¹¹ Suet. *Calig.* 22.

¹² *Ib.* 35.

¹³ *Supra* p. 364.

¹⁴ Dionys. *per.* 210.

¹⁵ Stat. *silv.* 1. 6. 27, Mart. 9. 28. 10, 14. 1. 2; cp. 6. 10. 9 Tonantis, with Friedländer's n.

¹⁶ Dessau 320.

¹⁷ Opp. *cyn.* 3.

¹⁸ Duruy *Hist. of Rome* vi. 539. Cp. *Paneg.* 1. 13. 3 f., Claud. *de bell. Gild.* 418 f., Dessau 621, 634, 658 f., 661, 665.

¹⁹ Fig. 4. = Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus, Gemmen-taf. 3. 6.

²⁰ Dr. Frazer suggests that the small head above perhaps symbolises Jupiter *Capitolinus*: cp. Serv. *Aen.* 8. 345 *caput humanum quod Oli diceretur*. For other conjectures as to the interpretation of this difficult gem see Overbeck *ib.* p. 257 f., Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 42.

²¹ S. Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 142, pl. 129, 23.

²² Furtwängler *ant. Gemmen* pl. 65, 48.

²³ E.g. Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 203 f.

Jupiter.¹ Caesar's chariot dedicated on the Capitol ἀντιπρόσωπον τῷ Διὶ² and Nero's peregrinations in triumphal cars,³ the eagle released from the pyre of Augustus and later emperors,⁴ these and many other indications point to the same conclusion. Numismatic types of *consecratio* are a lofty pyre surmounted by a four-horse chariot or an eagle bearing upwards the imperial soul.⁵ With these compare the coins of Amaseia that refer to the cult of the oak-Zeus⁶ (Fig. 5):



FIG. 5.

in both cases we have the pyre, the *quadriga* and the eagle. Even the connexion with the oak is not wanting; for coins of the gens Julia show Pietas wearing a wreath of oak,⁷ while over the door of Augustus⁸ and his successors⁹ an oak-crown was regularly suspended by decree of the Senate. If it be objected that this was but the *corona civica* bestowed in perpetuity,¹⁰ it must be remembered that the *corona civica* was made of oak-leaves because the oak was sacred to Jupiter.¹¹ When the Roman emperors were thus adorned, they were but following the

practice of the ancient oak-kings, the Silvii whom Virgil represents as crowned 'civili . . . quercu.'¹² The general impression produced on the public by the sight of Augustus' palace may be gathered from Ovid's couplet: 'et Iovis haec' dixi 'domus est?' quod ut esse putarem, | augurium menti *querna* corona dabat.¹³

When the Italian Jupiter succeeded to the Aboriginal Janus he brought in his train two other gods, who together with him stood at the head of Roman religion throughout the historical period. The triad Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus were represented by the three *flamines maiores*, who in order of precedence immediately followed the king.¹⁴ Some of the oldest religious usages of Rome linked their names together. Thus the Salii were 'in tutela Iovis Martis Quirini.'¹⁵ Numa ordained that the first *spolia opima* should be presented to Jupiter Feretrius, the second to Mars, the third to Quirinus.¹⁶ The first treaty with Carthage was made by the *fetiales* in the name of Jupiter Lapis, the last in that of Mars and Quirinus.¹⁷ The same three gods are conjointly invoked in the old formula of *devotio*.¹⁸ My suggestion is that they were originally three forms of Jupiter, Mars being Jupiter as a war-god¹⁹ and Quirinus Jupiter as an oak-god. Servius²⁰ definitely states that Quirinus was the pacific form of Mars; and his identification is accepted by all:²¹ I have only to add that, if *Quirinus* means 'oak-god,' we should expect to find the oak sacred to Mars. And this was the case. Aeneas lopped a huge oak-tree and set it up 'tibi, magne, tropaeum, | Bellipotens.'²² An oak adorned with spoils

¹ Dr. Frazer remarks that Jupiter was surnamed *Rex* (Cic. *de rep.* 3. 14. 23, cp. Cass. Dio 44. 11. 3), as Juno was *Regina* (see Preller-Jordan ii. 473 Index).

² Cass. Dio 43. 14. 6, 43. 21. 2, 43. 45. 2, cp. Suet. *Jul.* 76.

³ Suet. *Nero* 25.

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa iv. 902.

⁵ Stevenson *Dict. Coins* p. 248 ff.

⁶ Fig. 5 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Pontus*, etc. pl. 2, 6. For description see *C.R.* xviii. 80.

⁷ Babelon *monn. de la Rép.* ii. 17. Pietas was equivalent to Julius Caesar, as we see from an *aureus* of the same gens, which portrays a veiled head of Pietas with the features of Caesar (*ib.* p. 16).

⁸ Mon. Ancy. 6. 14, Cass. Dio 53. 16. 4, Ov. *met.* 1. 562 f., *fast.* 1. 614, 4. 953, *trist.* 3. 1. 36, Plin. *n.h.* 16. 8, cp. Tac. *ann.* 2. 83.

⁹ Val. Max. 2. 8. 7, Plin. *n.h.* 16. 7, Suet. *Tib.* 26, *Calig.* 19, *Claud.* 17.

¹⁰ Cass. Dio 53. 16. 4, Val. Max. 2. 8. 7, Ov. *trist.* 3. 1. 39 ff., Sen. *de clem.* 1. 26. 5. Cp. the oak-crown OB CIVES SERVATOS constantly represented on imperial coins.

¹¹ Plin. *n.h.* 16. 11 f., cp. Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 92, v. *Coriol.* 3.

¹² *Aen.* 6. 772.

¹³ Ov. *trist.* 3. 1. 35 f.

¹⁴ Fest. s.v. 'ordo' p. 189 Lind.

¹⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 8. 663.

¹⁶ *Ib.* 6. 860, Plut. v. *Marcell.* 8.

¹⁷ Polyb. 3. 25. 6.

¹⁸ Liv. 8. 9. 6.

¹⁹ *Mars* is derived from *Mavors*; compare the intermediate form *Maurte* (Dessau 3142). *Ma-vors* is according to Pauli for **Mas-vort-s*, 'Männerwender'; according to Solmsen for **macs-vort-s* (Subst. **maghos maghes*): see Stolz *Hist. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.* i. 440. In any case the second half of the word connects with *vert-o*, so that Jupiter *Ma-vors* might correspond to Zeus *Τρομαῖος* (Preller-Robert p. 140). Some support for this is afforded by a Bruttian inser. Διουφεῖ *Φερσροπει ταυρομ*, which proves the existence of an Oscan Jupiter *Versor* = 'qui hostes vertit in fugam' (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 642). Similarly **Αρης* may have been a Thracian differentiation of Zeus **Αρειος* (cp. Grimm *Teut. Myth.* p. 201 ff., Preller-Robert pp. 140 f., 335, P. Gardner in *Num. Chron.* xx. 50).

²⁰ *Aen.* 1. 292, 6. 860.

²¹ Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Römer* p. 139.

²² Verg. *Aen.* 11. 5 ff.

is promised to Mavors by the poet Claudian.¹ Valerius Flaccus describes the tree on which the golden fleece was hung as the oak of Mavors or Mars or Gradivus.² On the suburban estate of the Flavii was an ancient oak sacred to Mars.³ The woodpecker too, a bird regularly associated with the oak, was known as the *picus Martius*.⁴ It remains to show that Quirinus was one with Jupiter. This appears not only from the fact that Janus, the Aboriginal Jupiter, was surnamed Quirinus, but also from the fact that the Italian Jupiter bore the same surname: two tiles from Casteldieri⁵ are inscribed [*Io*]vi Quirino and Iovi Cyrin[o] C. Tati Max. Juno too, whose cult on the Arx corresponded to that of Jupiter on the Capitolium, wore like her partner a wreath of oak,⁶ and was titled *Quiritis* (*Curitis*) at Rome and elsewhere.⁷ Again, all these deities were symbolised by a staff or spear. Of Janus as represented by the staves or spears of the Salii, etc., and of Jupiter as represented by a sceptre, we have spoken.⁸ The oldest *xoanon* of Mars at Rome was likewise a spear (*δόρυ*, *hasta*) kept in the Regia and addressed as *Mars*:⁹ when the *hastae Martiae* stirred, it was a sign of war and sacrifices were offered to Jupiter, Mars, etc.¹⁰ We hear also of the 'arma Quirini';¹¹ coins of the gens Fabia show a *flamen Quirinalis* seated with an *apex*, a spear, and a shield marked QVIRIN;¹² and antiquarians derived *Quirinus* from *quiris* (*curis*).¹³ Juno Quiritis (*Curitis*) was also known as Juno Quiris (*Curis*)¹⁴ from the spear with which she was originally identified.¹⁵ Further, Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus—like Janus before them—all bore the title *pater*,¹⁶ while Juno was correspondingly *mater*.¹⁷ If the view here taken of the triad Jupiter, Mars,

Quirinus is correct, one might expect that the third member of the triad should bear not only the adjectival name Quirinus, but also a proper name like those of Jupiter and Mars. This expectation is justified; for in the Praenestine Calendar March 7 is a festival [*I*]ovi[s *M*]artis *Vediovis inter duos lucos*.¹⁸ Cp. also the Umbrian triad Jupiter, Mars, Vofionus (*Iuve, Marte, Vofione*), who were worshipped under the common title Grabovius.¹⁹ Again, if Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus were indeed but diverse forms of Jupiter, the curiously discrepant accounts of the *spolia opima* become at once consistent. All authorities agree that Romulus dedicated the spoils of Acron to Jupiter Feretrius. But, whereas Livy²⁰ states that Cossus did the same with those of Lar Tolumnius, Servius²¹ is equally explicit in declaring that Cossus dedicated them to Mars.²² And, whereas Plutarch²³ asserts that Marcellus presented the spoils of Viridomarus to Jupiter Feretrius, Virgil²⁴ and Servius *ad loc.* make him present them to Quirinus. Finally, it is not surprising to find that sundry Roman monarchs were related to Mars and Quirinus rather than to Jupiter. Romulus, the son of Mars by Rhea Silvia,²⁵ was identified with Quirinus²⁶ just as Latinus and Aeneas were identified with Jupiter. Hadrian and later emperors were portrayed as Mars.²⁷ Cicero calls Julius Caesar 'σύνναον Quirino' and 'Quirini contubernalem' because a statue of him inscribed *deo invicto* had been erected in the temple of Quirinus.²⁸ Augustus had a round temple of Mars Ultor built 'in imitation of that of Jupiter Feretrius'²⁹ and was himself saluted as Quirinus.³⁰

Varro enumerated the gods recognised by Romulus as follows: 'Ianum, Iovem,

¹ *In Rufin.* 1. 339.

² 5. 229 ff., 251 f., 7. 519.

³ Suet. *Vesp.* 5.

⁴ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2430 f.

⁵ Dessau 3036.

⁶ Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 92.

⁷ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 596 ff.

⁸ *Supra* p. 369 nn. 4, 8, 9; p. 365.

⁹ Varro *ap.* Clem. Al. *pr. tr.* 4. 46, Arnob. 6. 11, Plut. *v. Rom.* 29, cp. Serv. *Aen.* 8. 3.

¹⁰ Gell. 4. 6. 1 f., *alib.*

¹¹ Fest. *s.v.* 'persillum' p. 199 Lind., cp. Verg. *georg.* 3. 27.

¹² Babelon *monn. de la Rép.* i. 484.

¹³ Fest. *s.v.* 'Quirinus' p. 217 Lind., Serv. *Aen.* 1. 292, Isid. *origg.* 9. 2. 84.

¹⁴ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 597.

¹⁵ Bötticher *Baumkultus* p. 238.

¹⁶ On *Maspiter* or *Marspiter* see Preller-Jordan i. 335: on *Quirinus pater*, Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Römer* p. 139.

¹⁷ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 589.

¹⁸ So Preller-Jordan i. 362 n. 4.

¹⁹ Roscher *Lex.* i. 1728 f., ii. 636, 2385.

²⁰ 4. 20. 5.

²¹ *Aen.* 6. 860.

²² Conceivably the word *triumpe* in the hymn of the Arval Brothers (Dessau 5039) describes Mars as an originally threefold god.

²³ *V. Marcell.* 8.

²⁴ *Aen.* 6. 859.

²⁵ Note the connexion with the Alban line: *supra* p. 362 f. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 760 makes the original Silvius 'lean on a headless spear,' thereby hinting at *quiris*, *Quirites*.

²⁶ Preller-Jordan i. 374. Dr. Frazer reminds me that the vision of the deified Romulus was reported by Iulius Proculus, a patrician from Alba (Plut. *v. Rom.* 28, Ov. *fast.* 4. 99 *alib.*).

²⁷ Stevenson *Dict. Coins* p. 539 f.

²⁸ Cic. *ad Att.* 12. 45. 3, 13. 28. 3, Cass. Dio 43. 45. 3.

²⁹ Cass. Dio 54. 8: Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2392.

³⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 1. 292.

Martem, Picum, Faunum, Tiberinum, Herculeum,¹ etc. Numa's series was Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, and Vesta.² These are, without exception, precisely the deities whom we have found in connexion with the oak-cult at Rome.

The Umbro-Sabellian States.

The *tegula mammata* here figured³ was found at Urbisaglia in Picenum and repre-

cornice,⁵ show that we have here to do with an actual cult. It is obviously that of the triple Jupiter: the thunderbolt marks him as a sky-god; the trident and dolphin as a sea-god; the fork as an earth-god.

The Pelasgian settlers in central Italy are said to have worshipped the Dodonaean Zeus,⁶ whose head crowned with an oak-wreath appears on coins of Teate⁷ and Larinum.⁸ At Hyria, the Metropolis of the

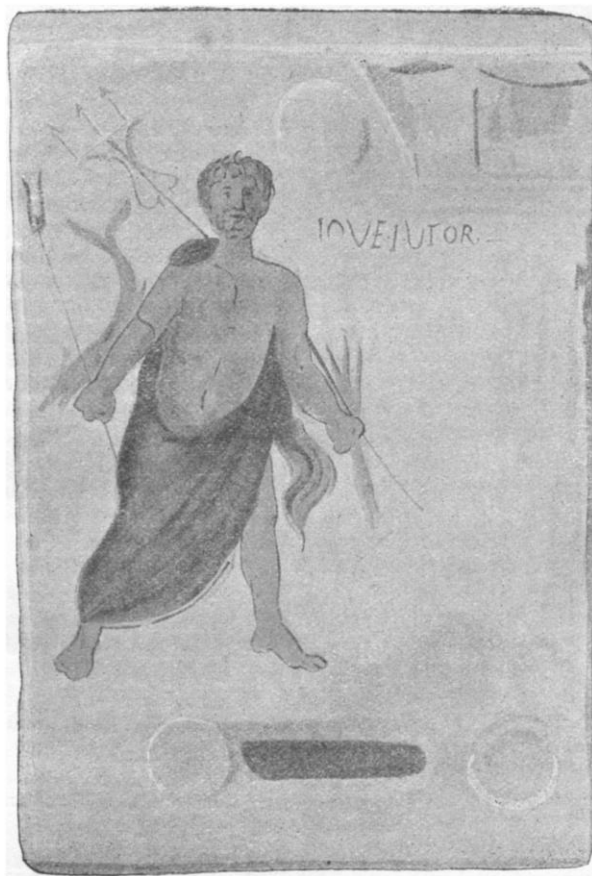


FIG. 6.

sents *Iove Iutor*⁴ clad in a purple cloak: he is armed with a thunderbolt and a trident in his left hand and a two-pronged fork in his right, while a dolphin appears at his side. The title *Iutor* and the black strokes in the upper right hand corner, which J. Schmidt takes to denote an architectural

Messapians,⁹ where the palace of one of the ancient native kings was shown in Strabo's time,¹⁰ a skeleton has been found wearing a golden crown of twelve oak-leaves.¹¹ These

⁵ *Annal. dell' Inst. arch.* lii. 63.

⁶ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 19: *C.R.* xvii. 269.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Grk. Coins* Italy p. 145, nos. 1, 2.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 71, no. 7.

⁹ *Hdt.* 7. 170.

¹⁰ Strab. 282.

¹¹ *Arch. Zeit.* xxxv. 180.

¹ *Ap. Augustin. de civ. Dei* 4. 23.

² Preller-Jordan i. 64 n.1.

³ From *Mon. dell' Inst. arch.* xi. pl. 17, 1.

⁴ Dessau 3031.

facts are consistent with the view that throughout the Italian peninsula there was a Pelasgian or quasi-Pelasgian stratum of population in which the cult of the triple oak-god represented by an oak-king had at one time flourished.

Mars, as a specialised form of Jupiter, had probably arisen before the Italians entered Italy. We find him worshipped side by side with Jupiter in both the eastern (Umbro-Sabellian) and western (Latin) branches, and there is some evidence that the differentiation took place outside the peninsula: thus the ancient Italian title for Jupiter, *Loucetius* or *Lucetius*,¹ is applied in the forms *Loucetius* and *Leucetius* to Mars throughout the Celtic area.² However that may be, it is clear that the Italian Mars constantly figures as a warlike Jupiter. As such he was an oak-god in the Umbro-Sabellian states. The Flavii in their Sabine home had an old oak sacred to Mars.³ The Picentines derived their name from the woodpecker of Mars, which had guided their wanderings.⁴ At Tiora Matiena, a town of the Aborigines in the territory of the Aequi, there was an ancient oracle of Mars consisting of a woodpecker perched upon a post.⁵ Dionysius expressly compares it to the oracle at Dodona, so that Wagler is probably right in his surmise that the post was of oak.⁶ It is represented on various ancient gems⁷ as a pillar with a serpent twined round it, a woodpecker perched upon it, and sometimes a ram laid as an offering before it: in front of the pillar stands a warrior apparently consulting the oracle. The Picius Martius (*piquier Martier*), who figures on the Tables of Iguvium,⁸ shows that the Umbrians had the same cult.

But, despite the popularity of Mars, Jupiter retained his hold on the Italian mind.⁹ One of the most striking proofs of this is the series of *Iuvilas* or heraldic dedications found in Campania.¹⁰ Prof. Conway¹¹

says of them: 'Only one of the inscc. explicitly dedicates its *iūvilū* to any one in particular, namely 108, which 'stands' to Jupiter *Flagius. The most obvious derivation for the word (*d*)*iūvilū* itself is from (*d*)*iou-* or (*d*)*ionio-*. But further, 109 relates to a *iūvilū* standing 'next to the door of the *lucus*' (which was presumably sacred to some one). A large number of the Curti specimens...were found...within the precinct of a temple identified as that of Juno Lucina... It is quite possible [W. R.] that she shared the temple with her divine consort, as Dione shared with Zeus the temple at Dodona.' I would suggest that the *iūvilū* column marked with the armorial bearings of this or that family represents the ancestor of the family in his character as a human Jupiter.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

N.B.—A sequel to the foregoing paper dealing with analogous beliefs in the Celtic, the Germanic, and the Balto-Slavonic areas will appear in *Folk Lore* 1904–1905 under the title 'The European Sky-god.' The first instalment of it, containing a summary of my conclusions so far as they affect the Greeks and including some modifications of the views expressed in the present series of articles, was published in September last.

A. B. C.

MACH'S GREEK SCULPTURE.

Greek Sculpture, its Spirit and Principles.
By EDMUND VON MACH. 8vo. Boston.
1903. Pp. viii+357. 32 full page illustrations in text, and 40 Plates at end.

THE author has arranged his material in two parts, the first dealing with the principles on which he conceives the Greek sculptor to have worked, the second forming a short history of his art.

If Dr. von Mach is satisfied with having done something to further the diffusion of interest in ancient sculpture, this much he is entitled to claim. It is, however, certain that this encomium could be applied to any well-illustrated work written by anyone adequately familiar with his materials. Dr. von Mach adds little to what has been said before, and his additions will not find much favour.

The most original and the least satisfactory chapter is that which the author devotes to the origin of art. A work of

¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 654.

² *Ib.* ii. 1982 f. For this among other reasons Prof. Rhys holds that 'the Roman Mars was...a sort of duplicate of Jupiter, owing his existence alongside of the greater god to the composite character of the ancient Roman community' (*Hibbert Lectures* 1886 p. 133).

³ Suet. *Vesp.* 5.

⁴ Strab. 240, Plin. *n.h.* 3. 110, Paul. *exc. Fest.* s.r. 'Picena' p. 117 Lind.

⁵ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 14.

⁶ P. Wagler *die Eiche in alter u. neuer Zeit* ii. 23.

⁷ Furtwängler *ant. Gemm.* pl. 24, 10 and 16.

⁸ Conway *Italic Dialects* i. 421 f., ii. 645.

⁹ See Aust's article in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 634 ff.

¹⁰ Conway *op. cit.* i. 101 ff.

¹¹ *Ib.* p. 109.